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پروفیسر



by

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CONTENTS

*Introduction	1
*Table of Transliteration of Consonants	111
✓The Sources of the Life of Khwājū of Kirmān	iv
Kirmān	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Birth	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4
Education	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8
The Theory of Dreams	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	29
Marriage	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	38
Mission in Life	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	43
Heyday of Prosperity	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	47
Panegyrics	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	60
Lyrics	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	72
Romance	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	97
a. Humā-u-Humāyūn	...	...	...	...	...	...	99	
b. Gul-u-Nauruz	...	...	...	...	...	...	107	
c. Rauza-tul-Anvār	...	...	...	...	...	...	115	
d. Kamāl Nāmah	...	...	...	...	...	...	119	
e. Gauhar Nāmah	...	...	...	...	...	...	123	
f. Sām Nāmah	...	...	...	...	...	...	126	
Miscellaneous Poems	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	141
Mysticism	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	150
Last Days	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	165
Conclusion	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	173
a. As a Poet	...	...	...	...	...	...	173	
b. A Graph	...	...	...	...	...	...	188	
c. As a Philosopher	...	...	...	...	...	...	190	
d. As a Traveller	...	...	...	...	...	...	194	
e. As a Man	...	...	...	...	...	...	196	
Index to the Kasīdās of the Divān-i-Khwājū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	206
Index to the Mukattaʿāt of the Divān-i-Khwājū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	207
Index to the Miscellaneous verses of the Divān-i-Khwājū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	210
Index to the Ghazaliāt of Divān-i-Khwājū	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	211
✓ Index of Proper Names	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	228

INTRODUCTION

In 679 after the Hijrat of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (the choicest blessings and peace of Allah be upon him) a man was born at Kirmān named Kamāl-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, Khwājū. He was a contemporary of Ḥāfiẓ who felt proud of being an imitator of his style. Ḥāfiẓ says:

Though Sa'dī is the **Master** of the odes 'fore all men, but
The verse of Ḥāfiẓ hath the style of the verse of Khwājū.

Daulat Shāh of Samarkand wrote the Tazkirat-ul-Shu'arā in 892/1486, and mentioned Khwājū therein. All his successors more or less partly or wholly followed him, or rather quoted him in respect of Khwājū. They did not take the pains of making a thorough study of our poet's works. Had they done so they would have appeared in bright colours of originality and genius, and at the same time they would have appealed to the occidental mind.

Dr Von Erdmann wrote an article in German in Z.D.M.G. for 1848, vol.ii, pp.205-215. After a short introduction on Persian Literature he tried strenuously to bring Khwājū from darkness to light. He dwelt upon his five works (the Divān included) in detail, and laid much stress on his originality. Professor Browne gave a brief but excellent account of the life of Khwājū in "A History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion," pp.222-229. By this he stimulated further research into Khwājū's works.

In India, Maulānā Shibli, in his Shīr-ul-'Ajam, vol.II, pp.212-216, gives an admirable contrast between Khwājū and Ḥāfiẓ, and quotes his beautiful couplets as well, for the interest of his readers, and gives a short criticism of his own. Our contemporary Sa'īd Nafīsī has rendered a valuable service to Persian Literature by attempting a criticism of Khwājū, for he published "An account and selected couplets of Khwājū-i-Kirmānī". This book is in Persian and was published at Teherān. It is a work of great labour based upon the modern system of research work. Similarly, Dr Masrūr has written a concise but beautiful account of the life of our poet in the preface to Rauḍa-tul-Anvār of Khwājū published at Teherān.

Maulvī Muḥammad Shafī Šāhib, M.A. (Cantab), Principal, Oriental College, Lahore, suggested the subject to me, and gave me some useful hints about the general lines to be followed. By the grace of Allah he collected all the Rotos for me.

By the grace of Allah, I have attempted quite originally the life of Khwājū of Kirmān, placing before me all the available material, and weighing the remarks of his biographers by way of appreciation where it is inevitable, or criticism where it is necessary, and deciding all the points under discussion on the authoritative and internal evidence of Khwājū's writings themselves. Thus, in settling these points, it will be seen that I have avoided any personal opinion, Inshā Allah.

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Bahar 12-10-1939.

Table of Transliteration of Consonants.

(In accordance with "A Catalogue of the Persian Printed Books in the British Museum", compiled by Edward Edwards, M.A. London, 1922)

ب	b	ر	r	ف	f
پ	p	ز	z	ق	k̄
ت	t	ژ	zh	ک	k
ث	s̄	س	s	گ	g
ج	j	ش	sh	ل	l
چ	ch	ص	ś	م	m
ح	h̄	ض	z̄	ن	n
خ	kh	ط	t̄	و	v
د	d	ظ	z̄̄	ه	h
ذ	z̄̄	ع	ʿ	ی	y
		غ	gh		

1. V is for و but Khwājū has been written with w according to the Catalogue of the Mss in the British Museum.
2. Among the quotations of other authors, their transliteration has been maintained.
3. Owing to lack of space on pp. 12, 52, 53, 69, and 70, I have had to attach extra slips to accommodate the foot notes.

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7. Humā-u-Humāyūn, Rotos A no.913, P.U.Library.
8. Rauḡa-tul-Anvār, Rotos A no.913, P.U.Library, Lahore.
9. Gauhar Nāmah, Rotos, A no. 2201, P.U.Library, Lahore.
10. Sām Nāmah, Rotos, A no.2627, P.U.Library, Lahore.
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65. مؤلفات کبیر از تالیفات مرثیہ حسن بن مرثیہ قادری الہری مطبع عمومی دہلی ۱۳۳۶ھ

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5. A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi, and English, by John T. Platts, M.A., Oxford, 1930.
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7. Kashf-ul-Lughāt, Samar-i-Hind Press, Lucknow, 1876.
8. A New English-Persian Dictionary, Vol.II, by S. Haim, Teherān 1929.

Special Note: The Sākī-Nāmah of the Mai-Khānah, pp.74-79 mentioned among the works of Khwājū is the portion of the Humā-u-Humāyūn pp.21-27; with slight differences.

BIRTH PLACE.

Although it is on the authority of the following verses that all the biographers unanimously agree that Khwājū was born at Kirmān:

- (1) Happy that ambergris-like morning breeze
Which passeth o'er Kirmān the mind to please!
Happy the time! The cheerful warbler there
Has built a nest for shelter free from care.
What have I done? The sky which high doth stand
From that pure earth cast me in a strange land.
Why should I make Baghdād my dwelling place?
My eyes do naught but here the Tigris trace.

yet a couplet of Khwājū's is quoted below wherein, in a flashing style of his own, humorous and direct, he claims to have been born at Kirmān.

- (2) She stole my heart and to the usher said,
"Drive off the poet of Kirmān, anon."

Moreover, in an interesting letter from a distant land to his son at home after his recovery from an ailment, he says:-

- (3) All hail Kirmān! A garden is its land!
The stream Māhān therein that floweth sweet!
Its stone is emerald! Its dust is gold!
Its plain is heav'n! A tulip-vale its seat!
Its sting is balm; its climate temperate;
Its waste a vale; its autumn spring doth beat;
It is the abode of all the princes great;
It is the home of peers who freedom greet;
Its founder Ardishīr Bābak of fame;
Its kingdom kissed king Yazdigird's feet;
It is the throne of powerful potentates;
Of chiefs successful 'tis the court complete;
O God, its climate till the Judgment Day
Keep safe from stigma's water and fire's heat!

Does he not bubble up like a fountain after his sickness in a manner that is natural to a man whose heart beats under his side for love of his own birth-place?

HISTORY.

It can easily be deduced from the above couplets, especially

(۱) خوشا باد عنبر نسیم سحر - که بر خاک کرمانش باشد گزر
خوشا وقت آن مرغ دشتان سرک - که دارد در آن بوم ماد و جاع
زمن تاجیه آمد که چرخ بلند - از آن خاک پاکم بغربت نکلند
بغداد هر چه سازم وطن - که ناید بجز دجله در چشم من
تذکره الشعراء ص ۱۴۵
مطبع کربلا بهر ۱۹۲۲

(۲) دل این سوخته بر بورد و بدر بان گوید
که بر آن از درم این شاعر کرمانی را

Fol. 84A دیوان خواجو

Fol. 8A دیوان خواجو

(۳) خاک کرمان جفا آن گلستان - و آب مایان خرم آن جوینار
سنگ او پیروزه است و خاک زر - دشت او خلد است و صحرا لاله زار
نیش او توش و هوایش معتدل - راي او باغ و خزانیش تو بهار
منزلش زادن گان نامور - مسکن آزادگان نامدار
بانگ او ارد شیر با بکان - وایسته او یزد جرد شهبان
تخت گاه خسروان کامران - بارگاه سردران کامگار
یارب آن آب و هوای تاجکش - ترا آتش و آب و هوای محروک دار

the couplet no.2, that Khwājū was born at Kirmān. In the words of the poet it was founded by Ardishīr, a king of pure Persian blood. In 226 A.D., he appeared on the stage of Persian politics. The people flocked to his standard. The shackles of Parthian bondage were broken and a national spirit established its supremacy in Persia. This dynasty is called the Sāsānian, because Ardishīr was the adopted son of Bābak and the son of Sāsān. This Sāsān through Bahman was a descendant of the Achaemenian dynasty. Yazdigird, as pointed out by Khwājū in the above couplets, was the last Sāsānian king when a light rose from the deserts of Arabia and shone all over Persia. In 635 A.D. after the defeat of Yazdigird at Kādīsīyā, the authority passed from the hands of the Sāsānians into those of the Muslims.

In the words of Khwājū, the waters of Māhān flow through the hills and valleys of Kirmān. The rays of the sun dance upon the ripples. The flowery plants add to the beauty of the lovesome scene. It might have been due to this temperate climate that the Persian kings visited it for recreation as our poet has so admirably versified it.

His reference to the kings Ardishīr and Yazdigird suggest a patriotic attitude to his land and its masters; while his silence about the name of the ruler of Kirmān at that time hints at a reign changing from one person to another. Hence he was content to say "Sarvarān-i-Kāmgār" - the successful chiefs, whosoever they might be, overruled by the vicissitudes of time due to the chaotic period. This period will be discussed in the next chapter on Khwājū's birth (نشأته). Meanwhile we are certainly correct in stating that Khwājū was born at Kirmān.

BOUNDARY.

(1) Kirmān, a large province (ancient Karmania) and town of Persia. The province, which for administrative purposes includes Persian Baluchistan and Makran, is bounded north by the Qainat district of Khurasan and Yazd, west by Fars, east by British Baluchistan, while south it extends to the Arabian Sea. Situated to the south-west of the great Central Iranian desert, Dasht-i-Lut, the province is terminated in the east by steppes, while from the direction of Yazd and Fars, it is bordered by desert and uncultivated land.

(1) Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th edition, Vol.13, page 350.

The chief feature which distinguishes Kerman from Fars and the country north-west^{and west} is that the cultivated part of Fars is an uninterrupted territory, while Kerman consists rather of a number of fertile areas, widely separated by desert tracts, through which the villages and settlements are scattered."

Year of Khwājū's Birth.

Khwājū was born on the night of Sunday, the 20th of Zūhijja, 679 A.H. or 1280-81 A.D. This is an admitted fact borne out by the words of the poet himself on the authority of the Gul-u-Nauruz (1). He tries to be so accurate about the day, time, month, and year of his own birth that he goes into details and removes every doubt by specifying many eras and periods of time in order to corroborate the exact date. He gives 1610 of the Syrian, 659 of the Yazdigird, and Dal 17, 212 of the Jaiālī eras. At that time, the Sun was in the sign of Capricorn and Saturn in that of Aries.

Parents.

As to his parentage, we, like other authors, are indebted to Daulat Shāh of Samarkand, who writes in his "Memoirs of the Poets" that Khwājū "belonged to a noble family of Kirmān." (2) It is a pity that Khwājū himself is altogether silent about his parents and ancestors in his works.

Name.
As regards the name of Khwājū, Daulat Shāh in his Taẓkirat-ul-Shu'ara (3) and Lutf 'Alī Beg, Āzur, in his Ātash Kadah (4) call him "Khwājū of Kirmān" only. Rizā Kulī Khān in his Majma'-ul-Fuṣahā (5) and Nūr Ullāh Shūshtarī in his Majālis-ul-Mu'minin (6) say that he bore the name of "Abul 'Atā Mahmūd bin 'Alī bin Mahmūd" and "Abul 'Atā Muhammad bin 'Alī, entitled Khwājū of Kirmān" respectively. Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, the writer of the Haft Iklim (7) entitles him "Kamāl-ud-Dīn Khwājū" and gives him the Patronymic of "Abul 'Atā and the name of Mahmūd bin 'Alī". 'Abdul Nabī, the author of the Maikhānah (8) calls him "Afzal-ud-Dīn Khwājū of Kirmān." Muhammad Naṣīr Fursat of Shīrāz, the author of the Āṣār-i-'Ajam, quoted in the preface of the Humā-u-Humāyūn (9) of Khwājū, writes his name "Abul 'Atā Mahmūd bin 'Alī bin Mahmūd, entitled Khwājū". The modern writer Dr Masrūr calls him "Kamāl-ud-Dīn Mahmūd bin 'Alī bin Mahmūd" (10) on the authority of the above authors in the preface of

(۱) شب روز الف از م شده کاف - قلندره آهوی شب نام از ناز
رسیده مائة ذوالحججه به عشرين - بام آورده گردون شنب زری
ز هجرت ششصد و سیصد و نه سال - شده پنجاه روز از ماه شوال
وگر عقدت ز روی می کشاید - ده افزون بر هزار و ششصد آید
دوت خودیز دیری می دید دست - یک راطح کن از ششصد و ششت
ور از پنج ملکشاهی سگالی - شده سیصد و زدی مائة جلای
دو صد و اصبط کن واکم و شش خواه - که روشن گردت سال ملکشاه
من از کتیم عدم برداشتم راه - سمن زار و جودم شد چراگاه
بزرگوئی دران دم بر کمر بود - شهنشاه ظلم زری صبر بود
زحل کو بود طالع را خد او نه - بهرج تیره بود افتاده در بند
چایخانه خاور - طهران ششصد و احوال و منتخب اشعار و دیوانه بی بی

(۲) از بزرگ زادگان کرمان بوده - تذکرة الشعراء ص ۱۴۵
(۳) خواجوه کرمان - تذکرة الشعراء ص ۱۴۵
(۴) خواجوه کرمانی - آتشکده صفحہ ۹
(۵) ابوالعطا محمود بن علی بن محمود - مجمع الفصاح ص ۱۲۹۵
(۶) ابوالعطا یا محمود بن علی بن محمود - مجمع الفصاح ص ۱۲۹۵
(۷) کمال الدین خواجو کنتیش ابوالعطا و امشش محمود بن علی است بی بی
(۸) افضل الدین خواجوه کرمانی - میخانه مطبع کپور آرث لاہور ششصد و ۱۹۱۴
(۹) بهادریا یون - ص ۲ - مطبع گلزار احسنی بی بی ششصد و ۱۲۲۵
(۱۰) در صحت الاخبار - مقدمه ناشر ص - ج کمال الدین محمود بن علی بن محمود

Rauza-tul-Anwār. Another modern writer, Sa'id Nafīsī of Teherān, published the 'Life and Selected Couplets of Khwājū' in Persian in the month of Tīr, 1307. He says, 'The compiler of Tazkirah-i-Khushgu knows Khwājū's name and title to be Abul Ātā Khwājah Kamāl-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī and Hāj Khalīfah writes him, firstly, to be Abul-Ātā Muḥammad bin 'Alī of Kirmān and then Kamāl-ud-Dīn Abul Ātā Maḥmūd bin 'Alī Al-Murshidī of Kirmān and again Kamāl-ud-Dīn Abul Ātā Muḥammad bin 'Alī of Kirmān in the book entitled the Kashf-ul-Zunūn fī Asāmī-ul-kutub-va-Funūn'. (1)

To be more accurate Sa'id Nafīsī quotes two couplets of Khwājū as well which go to show what the name of Khwājū was. The couplets are taken from the end of the Gul-u-Navrūz:

My father then did name me Maḥmūd dear,
I do not know myself who I am here.
If like Maḥmūd, I raise my head on high,
A bondsman to Ayāz's lock am I. (2)

Again referring to the poet's own words we can find in the following couplet:

Perfect in faith, the sky of grace, Khwājū,
The world of learning and the sea of wit. (3)

corroboration of the facts that he was born at Kirmān on the night of the 20th Zūl-hijjah, 679 A.H. or 1289 A.D. and that his name was Kamāl ud-Dīn Maḥmūd.

Criticism. The word 'Faḏl' in the above couplet (3) deserves our attention. With reference to this word, there is another couplet which runs as follows:

Great in the world; perfect in grace and faith;
Thou art the ruler o'er the clime of art. (4)

On this authority the name Afzal-ud-Dīn Khwājū given by the author of the Mai-Khānah can be entertained to be correct also. We see that 'Afzal' appears once only like 'Faḏl', while Kamāl-ud-Dīn comes twice in the above couplets (3) and (4), hence placing his own

(۱) مولف تذکرہ "سفینہ خوشگو" نام و نسب و کے را "ابوالعطا خواجہ کمال الدین محمد بن علی" دانستہ است حاج خلیفہ درکت
"کشف الظنون فی اسامی الکتاب و الفنون" یک جا نام و نسب اورا ابو العطا محمد بن علی کرمانی و بجائے دیگر "کمال الدین
ابو العطا محمود بن علی المرشدی کرمانی" و بجائے دیگر "کمال الدین ابو العطا محمد بن علی کرمانی" سے نویسنہ سعید نفیسی صفحہ ۵

(۳) کمال دین سید فضل خواجہ - جہان علم و دریائے معانی
۴۶۶. دیوان خواجہ

(۴) افضل عالم کمال داد و دیں - اسے برا تعلیم عظیم مالک کتاب
۶۱۸. دیوان خواجہ

(۲) پیر محمود کرد آں لحظہ نام - و لیکن من نمیدانم کدام
چون محمود اربعمنی سرفرازم - غلام ہند وئے زلف ایازم
سعید نفیسی ص ۵

7

to his side. His expeditions against the Egyptians kept the country in an unsettled condition. He died in 1304 A.D., at the age of thirty-two, due to grief which he sustained at the disclosure of a conspiracy to depose him in favour of Ālafrank, the son of Gaykhātū.

Ūljāitū. Ūljāitū, the son of Arghūn, succeeded his brother Ghāzān (1305-16) in 1305 A.D. He embraced Islam and entitled himself Ūljāitū Muḥammad Khudā-Banda. He executed Ālafrank and led campaigns against Gīlān and Herāt where he won victories. His expedition against Syria turned out to be fruitless. The country was in a disturbed state all over when he died in 1316 A.D.

Abū Saīd. Abū Saīd, the son of Ūljāitū, succeeded him in 1317 A.D. (1317 - 32) Though he was successful in making a definite peace with Malik-al-Nāsir, the ruler of Egypt, yet great disorder spread all over the country due to the alienation of the great nobles and powerful ministers from him on account of the passion which he showed for Baghdād Khātūn, the daughter of Amīr Chūpān and the wife of Shaikh Hasan. His marriage with this lady cost him a revolution in the country headed by her father. Abū Saīd was not able as yet to suppress this rebellion when all of a sudden he died of fever in 1332.

'Practically from the reign of Abu Saīd Persia was divided under five minor dynasties, the Jelairids, the Mozaffarids, the Sarbadarids (Serbedarians), the Beni Kurt and the Jubanians'. (1)

From the perusal of the above lines, we gather that from the birth of our poet in 1289 A.D. till 1332 A.D., the year of the composition of the Humā-u-Humāyūn, and still onward, the land of Persia was a hot bed of unrest, rebellion, wars, and conspiracies. This was the reason why our poet hinted at the above chaotic period in a letter to his son already referred to in the First Chapter, when he wrote 'Sarvarān-i-Kāmgār' - the successful chiefs - without mentioning at that time the name of a particular ruler at Kirmān, his birthplace.

evidence before us, in respect of these couplets, most probably his name was Kamāl-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd as Maḥmūd has been written by our poet also in the Gul-O-Nauruz.

We know it on authority already that Khwājū was born in 1280 A.D. It is not inappropriate here to give a brief outline of the History of Persia of that time, in order to have a clear idea of the land at the birth of our poet.

Nikudar. At this time the Persian Empire was under the descendants of Hūlāgū. By happy coincidence of events, Nikudar (Nicolas) succeeded his brother Abāghā, a son of Hūlāgū, in 1281 A.D., the year of Khwājū's birth. His capital was at Marāgha in Āzar-bāyijān, as Hūlāgū, his father, had chosen it for his capital. Nikudar embraced Islam and called himself Aḥmad Khān. The Mongols won over the Christians to their side to strike a blow at him. Before long he was overpowered and murdered in 1284 A.D.

Arghūn. Arghūn, a son of Abāghā, took the reins of government (1284-91 A.D.) into his hands at the general consent of the Mongols in 1284 A.D. His administration was not prosperous due to the execution of his two ministers. His choice of a Jewish minister brought no better result. The Mongol nobles murdered this minister as well, on the one hand, and Baidu Khān, a grandson of Hūlāgū rebelled on the other. Arghūn died in 1291 A.D. His reign was a period of great disturbance, indeed.

Kaikhātū. Kaikhātū or Gaykhātū, a brother of Arghūn, succeeded (1291-95 A.D.) him in 1291 A.D. He was a careless and extravagant ruler. Due to his dissoluteness, the treasury became empty. His minister, Šadr-i-Jahān, introduced the 'chāv' (paper money) in 1294 A.D. to overcome the financial stringency. This step led to Gaykhātū's further unpopularity. In a fit of intoxication, he had his cousin Baidu Khān insulted and beaten in public. To wreak vengeance, Baidu Khān revolted in conjunction with the disaffected Mongols, took Kaikhātū a prisoner and put him to death in 1295 A.D.

Baidu Khān. Now Baidu Khān sat on the throne in 1295 A.D. but (1295) after six months, Ghāzān, a son of Arghūn, put him to death in the same year.

Ghāzān. Ghāzān graced the throne in 1295 A.D. and began to (1295-1304) rule with a firm hand. His conversion to Islam won over the Muslims

to his side. His expeditions against the Egyptians kept the country in an unsettled condition. He died in 1304 A.D., at the age of thirty-two, due to grief which he sustained at the disclosure of a conspiracy to depose him in favour of Ālafrank, the son of Gaykhātū.

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Introduction. All the biographers of Khwājū are singularly silent about his early years, youth and educational activities, except the author of the "Mai-Khānah", and Dr Masrūr, an editor of the Nāsīm-i-Sabā, Teherān. The former writes, "But when Afzal-ud-Dīn reached the age of maturity and discretion, his father died. Khwājū attempted poetry in his youth, and in the beginning of the spring of his life". (1) The latter writes in his introduction to the Rauza -tul-Anvār of Khwājū, "He completed his studies at Kirmān and began to compose verses there." (2)

Criticism. According to the "Mai-Khānah", we understand that the father of Afzal-ud-Dīn (Khwājū) died 'at the time of his maturity and discretion'. The truth of this statement falls short of the mark, as we may see from the words of Khwājū himself, who says as follows:-

(3)

Is't not! I safe am not from the Eternal grace,
Like Mary's Christ, my mother reared an orphan - me.

Had he not been left an orphan in his early years, how could he have compared himself with Jesus Christ (Peace be upon him)? For the word "be-pidar" (fatherless) is synonymous of an "orphan" in Khwājū's own words in the Rauza -tul-Anvār. These words are put into the mouth of a widow in respect of her four sons:

(4)

Four orphans fatherless I have with me,
They day and night are in adversity.

Further, the word 'parvard' (reared, brought-up) indicates Khwājū's orphanhood in his early years, while his mother had to support him; otherwise, he would have looked after himself at the "age of maturity and discretion" according to the words of the 'Mai-Khānah', as at this stage of life, a youth can never be called an orphan in the real sense of the word. On these grounds, we find the remark of the 'Mai-Khānah' wanting in accuracy on the evidence

- (۱) چوں افضل الدین بسن رشد و تمیز رسید پدرش داعی حق را لبیک آجابت گفت و در اول جوانی و آغاز نوپیار زندگانی در مقام
انتظام نظم شد میخانه ص ۲۲
- (۲) توصیلات خود را در کرمان بیابان رسانید و در همانجا شروع به سخن سرائی کرده است روضه الانوار خواجہ طبرانی اذکر
مقدمه ناشره صفحه ۵
- (۳) نیستم مامون آیا زانکه از فیض بقا - بے پدر پرورد چوں عیسیٰ مریم مادر م ۴۵۸ دیوان خواجہ
- (۴) چارہ شیم اند مرا بے پدر - روز و شب آورده به محنت بسر صفحه ۶ روضه الانوار خواجہ

of the statement of Khwājū himself.

With reference to the quotation of Dr Masrūr, we know that Khwājū 'completed' his studies at Kirmān'. The word 'completed' signifies his discontinuation of studies later on. In contrast to this word of the learned scholar, Khwājū enjoins upon himself the necessity of travel for knowledge in the following couplet:

To China off for knowledge they have gone;
Tread in that path, which hath upon them shone. (1)

In pursuit of knowledge, indeed, he travelled far and wide, as he himself says:

My work hath suffered not thro' travels, for
The travels lessen not the fair Moon's rank. (2)

Moreover, the word 'takhsīlāt' (studies) of Dr Masrūr is too brief and indefinite to be entertained as satisfactory. It does not throw light upon the various branches of his studies, especially in the case of a great poet like Khwājū. Hence, it is not inadequate to say that the scholars of the East have not evinced any interest in the scientific study of Khwājū's life and character according to the standard of the West, for, in the words of Aristotle, 'different natures are inclined to different things'. (4).

EARLY YEARS. Let us plough new lands among the vast fields of his works for full information about his early years, youth, and educational activities. It is an admitted fact that Khwājū, a descendant of a noble family at Kirmān, was left an orphan in his early years like Sādī of Shīrāz, who says:

I know well children's pains in every way,
My father in my childhood passed away. (5)

In his early years, Khwājū was under the protection of his mother. Widows and orphans, generally, are not rich. In most cases, they can hardly win the bare necessities of life. His mother fought against these untoward accidents of life courageously and brought her son up as far as her means could allow her to do. Khwājū paints those days of poverty and pain how beautifully!

Through patience Khwājū's pain can have no cure,
With him he brought it from eternity. (6)

① در طلب علم به چین رفته اند - راه چین رو که چنین رفته اند - رفته اند و از راه ۹۱
② قصیدت خود را در کربان بیایان رسانید و رفته اند و از راه ۵
③ سرا باشند از در غفلت خبر - که در غفلت از سر بر نیت بود
④ کلیات سوری در مقام ۱۱
⑤ کلام از قطع منازل چندید و نقصان بخت و منزلت ماه به سفر کشود
⑥ Nichomachean Ethics of Aristotle, Book II (4) page 56
⑦ در و خواجو بصره به نشود. و آنکه با خویش از آن جهان آورد ۵۵
⑧ در ۱۳۲۱

To an impartial eye, the word 'dard' (pain) does not refer to anything else but poverty so beautifully versified also by Sādī in the above couplet (5), as widows and orphans are generally poverty-ridden. If this assumption is rejected, we reproduce another couplet where Khwājū depicts directly his own poverty:

- (1) In childhood I was friend to poverty,
In old age like to children have I grown.

Under these straitened circumstances, Khwājū might have been the pupil of a school master, upon whom the duties of the Imām of a mosque would have been incumbent as well. He acquired what he could at the feet of such a teacher during his early days.

YOUTH. He was no better off in his youth. He was depressed by poverty, as he says:

- (2) I glad had not been since the days of youth,
I don't know why Time's mother did bear me?

He reiterates the same idea of poverty:

- (3) Happy the blessed are because of wealth,
Though coin there be not, glad I wish to be.

Notwithstanding, he was not damped in spirits. The days of adversity rather sharpened his wits. He attached himself to his studies quite unconscious of his surroundings. He worked incessantly without being a spendthrift in the use of time. He tried tooth and nail to acquire knowledge, as he himself says:

- (4) If you desire to rise on high,
Strive every nerve with labour great.

In anticipation of the homely axiom that 'sweet are the uses of adversity', he drank deep at the fountain head of knowledge at Kirmān. As his thirst was not quenched he felt a divine discontent for more and travelled far and wide. He says:

- (5) 'Tis of no use to sit at home, O Khwājū, travel on;
Because the heart's wick is put out of one who
stays at home.

Like Shaikh Sādī, he picked up knowledge everywhere and added

دیوان خواجو

دیوان خواجو

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(1) وقتے کہ طفل بودم ہمہ خرقہ بودم - و اکنون کہ پیر گشتم ہمہ ست کو دکانم

(2) هرگز از روز جوانی نه شدم بیکدم شاد - مادر دهر ندانم بچه می زاد مرا

(3) شادی از دینار باشد کید بختانرا و یک - کاش بودی شادی از دینار نبود گو مباش

(4) اگر خواهی که خود را بر سر آری - بیا بر زرد به سستی دست و پائی

(5) ز خانه هیچ نه خیز و سفر نریز خواجو - که شیخ دل نشانند آنکه در وطن به نشست

(a) As You like it. Act. 2, line 12.
Shakespeare.

to the stores already acquired at Kirmān. Thus in his old age he had an abundant fund to expound for the good of posterity.

STUDIES. According to the system of education prevalent in those days, Khwājū studied the Holy Kūrān. This can be ascertained in two ways. Firstly, the words of the Holy Book are used and references to it are made frequently in his couplets which are quoted below:

The Kūrān. The brave knights of the field of Ahmad's Faith,
On 'Innā fa-taḥ-nā' have pitch'd their tents. (1)

The reference 'In-nā fa-taḥ-nā' is to the 48th Chapter, verse 1 of the Kūrān where is written 'Verily, we have granted thee a manifest victory' (2).

Again he says in another place:

If to the paintings fine devoted are the blind,
We maddened are for the Painter's Nūn-val-Kalam. (3)

The reference Nun-val-Kalam is to the 68th Chapter, verse 1 of the Holy Kūrān: N. By the Pen and what they write. (4)

Further, he writes in another place:

With the pure musk the scribes of the skies high,
Have written down 'Val-lail' on the records. (5)

The allusion 'Val-lail' is to the 92nd Chapter, verse 1 of the Holy Kūrān which says: By the night, when it covereth all things. (6)

Secondly, the sense of the Kūrānic tenets pervades his many couplets. He says in one place:

He is the First, He is the Last of all;
He is not seen and ever seen, withal. (7)

In this couplet, the sense of the 57th Chapter, verse 3 of the Holy Kūrān is meant. This Holy Kūrānic tenet can be versified thus:

He is the First; He is the Last;
He's seen and ever found;
Yet is He hidden from the past,
He knoweth all around. (8)

The comparison of no. (7) with no. (8) clearly shows that Khwājū had studied the Kūrān like a scholar.

Still again, we reproduce another couplet of the poet as evidence of our statement:

(5) دیوانیای عالم علی بشتک ناب - دالیل بهر حوائشے دفتر نوشتہ اند Fol. 53 A دیوان	داع لشکر آریای میدان دار دین احمدی - خیمہ بر کشد گدانا فتح نامے زند Fol. 56 A دیوان خواجہ
(6) دالیل را ذالقیشتی - سورہ البیل Fol. 51 A دیوان	(2) اِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُبِينًا الخ سورہ الفتح Fol. 115 A دیوان خواجہ
(7) آگ ہم ادوست دیم آخر - وانک ہم باطن است. و ہم ظاهر Fol. 51 A دیوان	(3) گر بے لبران شیفته نقش و نگارند - ما فتدے نون و قلم نقش نگاریم Fol. 115 A دیوان خواجہ
(8) صوال اول والاخر و الظاهر والباطن طوطو کل شئی علیہ سورہ الحجر Fol. 51 A دیوان	(4) ان والقلم وما یسطرون - سورہ القلم Fol. 115 A دیوان خواجہ

Who falleth in Thy sight, no one can honour him
And whom Thou dost exalt, no one can bring him down. (1)

In this couplet, the sense refers to the 3rd Chapter, verse 28 of the Holy Kūrān. It may be versified thus:

And Thou dost raise, whom Thou dost like,
My Lord the Ever Grand;
Whom Thou dost like, low dost Thou strike,
All good is in Thy hand.
Thou verily art powerful o'er all the things that be. (2)

Again, in another place Khwājū says:

The world doth not remain with anyone always,
My Lord, Thou livest still, it doth suffice to say. (3)

In this couplet, the 26th and 27th verses of the 55th Chapter of the Holy Kūrān are meant. These tenets of the Holy Book may be versified thus:

The things are doomed to perish all;
It is, indeed their fate;
But Allah still remains withal
The Bountiful and Great. (4)

In spite of all this knowledge of the Holy Kūrān, Khwājū did not commit the Kūrān to memory as Hāfiz, the greatest lyric poet of Persia, had done. Khwājū says:

What should I say of faith, in heresy I fell;
Why learn the Book by heart, the manuscript I tore. (5)

Hāfiz says about himself and his poetry as follows:

O Hāfiz, I read not a better verse than yours,
By the Holy Kūrān which you have in your mind. (6)

Tradition. Notwithstanding, Khwājū's study of the tradition stood parallel to that of the Holy Kūrān. This branch of knowledge under the influence of and according to the needs of the then Muslim rule, made him perfect in theology like Hāfiz who 'early devoted himself to the study of poetry and theology'. (7) We come to know of this accomplishment in the light of his own couplets. In one place he says:

To China off for knowledge have they gone;
Tread in that path which hath upon them shone. (8)

This couplet refers to the tradition of the ^{Holy} Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him): "Seek for knowledge even if it is in China because it is obligatory for every Muslim to search for knowledge." (9)

Further he says:

The Habasha's King a slave before him sits,
The garment of "Lau-Lāk" his size befits. (10)

دیان خوار
القرآن سورہ آل

(1) هر کس که خوار گشت زار دکنش عزیز - و آنکه عزیز گشت نکو بد کنش که خوار
(2) و بجز من تشاء و نزل من تشاء بیدک الخیر، انک علی کل شیء قدیر

- (۴) کُلُّ شَيْءٍ عَلَيْهَا فَإِنَّ لَهُ وَيُتَّقِي وَهُوَ رَبُّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ ۝
- القرآن سورة الرحمن آیات
- (۵) ایمان چہ دہم عرض کہ در کفر فسادم - قرآن چہ کنم حفظ چو مصحف بدریم Fol. ۱۱۶ B دیوان خوا
- (۶) ندیمم خوشتر از شور تو حافظ - بقرآنے کم اندر سینه داری دیوان حافظ صفحہ ۴۴ سطر ۲ مطبعہ
- (۷) Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14 Edition, Vol. 11, p. 69
- (۸) در طلب علم برچسب رفته اند - رام چند رو کچسب رفته اند روضۃ الانوار صفحہ ۹۱
- (۹) حدیث انس "اطلبوا العلم ولو بالھین فان طلب العلم فریضۃ علی کل مسلم" تحقیقات سیوطی علی موضوعات ابن جوزی
- (۱۰) شاہ حبش آمدہ مولائے او - کسوت لولاک ببالاٹے او صفحہ ۶ روضۃ الانوار

This couplet, again, alludes to the tradition through 'Laulāk' "hadst thou not been born I would not have created the skies". (1)

Arabic Literature.

Besides, he studied Arabic Literature very carefully. Due to his accomplishments in this subject, he managed well to introduce in his poetry the poets and great men of Arabia on the spur of the moment quite suitable to the occasion.

Like Muhammad you famous are by way of favours so,
The mind of Khwājū in your praise has been Ḥassān of verse. (2)

Ḥassān: "Ḥassān Ibn-Thābit, the Prophet's panegyrist, was born at Medina, visited Hira and Damascus in his younger days, and finally attached himself to Mahomet as his court poet, whose duty it was to reply to the bards accompanying the deputations sent by the different tribes to make their submission". (3)

Still again, our poet alludes to the history of Arabia thus:-

The Caesar of the heaven's fort ambuscades Habasha,
With the sword of Yemen in hand like to Zul-ya-zan's son. (4)

Saif Ibn Dhī Yazan: "Towards the year 572, either ^{he} (Umayya) or his father had been one of a deputation sent by the Quraishites to wait on the King of Yemen, Saif Ibn Dhī Yazan, and had offered him congratulations in verse on his victory over the Abyssinians." (5)

These instances, illustrated in the words of the English orient-
alists, concur to reveal his solid study of Arabic Literature. It
made him a scholar of Arabic as accomplished and learned as he was of
Persian. His high attainments in both these languages can be easily
proved by reproducing an ode versified in the form of "mulamma".

It runs as follows:-

سر ابا القیس اضمحانی و بی فی العیس منشوق - الایا راجب الدیر قبل مریت تک العوق
قاده ناقة در غرقاب آزار آب چشم میجوران - وفوق العوق خیانت و فی الخیمات منشوق
سزد در دست گیرند که کار از دست بیرون شد - اخلائی اغتوونی و ثوب الصبر عمرزوق
مقیم از گلشن طبع نسیم شوق می آید - و من رأی بی الی بطلی حیرت العیش منشوق
کجا از روضه رضوان چنان جور پیدا آمد - لطیف الکشم محسوس من الفردوس منشوق
خوشا بادوستان خواجه شراب وصل نوشیدن - و بالاطاسات و الکاسات مضبوط منشوق

دیوان خواجه

دیوان خواجه

دیوان خواجه

(1) لولاک لما خلقت الافلاک - موضوعات کبیر از تالیفات مولفای بن محمد سلطان القاری الہروی صفحہ ۱۲۸ طبع ۱۳۱۲

(2) چوں محمد تو با حسان سمی از پی آن - طبع خواجه بحدیث شدہ حسان سخن

(3) A History of Arabic Literature by Clement Huart, p. 43

(4) قیصر قصر فلک کردہ کیس بر پیش - سیف یمانی بدست چوں لیسر ذوالیزن

(5) A History of Arabic Literature by Clement Huart, p. 25.

Mysticism. Like Hāfiz who "became learned in mystic philosophy, which he studied under Shaikh Mahmūd Aṭṭār, chief of an order of dervishes", Khwājū developed this taste for Sūfī-ism, with which he had already been endowed by nature, at the feet of Alā-ud-Daula of Samnān. Daulat Shāh says in his Memoirs of the Poets:

"During his travels he (Khwājū) attended the leader of hermits, the elits of seekers, the pillar of religion and faith, Alā-ud-Daula of Samnān. There he became the disciple of the Shaikh. He was a mystic for many years in the Sufiābād (the abode of mystics). He collected the couplets of the Shaikh. He writes this quatrain in his holiness' praise:-

That one who followed Alī Imrānī of fame
Like Khizār found the water of life as his aim;
He freedom won from Satan's fears of plunder all
And like Alā-ud-Daula Samnānī became." (2)

This remark of Daulat Shāh of Samarkand has been followed exactly by all the biographers of Khwājū on the authority of this quatrain. But to take a step further, we know in the words of Khwājū himself that he was the disciple of Shaikh Abū Ishāk bin Ibrāhīm of Kāzrūn. He says:

If from his court-dust you may make your own heads' crown so high,
In pride you rise above the kings of the main and land dry;
If like Khwājū to wet his door with eyelashes you try,
You fill then the skirt of the soul with pearls that precious lie
Whom do you know to be the guide of such a path that's nigh-
The chosen leader of the Faith and Saints, Abū Ishāk!" (3)

In another place, he speaks as follows in allegiance to Amīn-ud-Dīn of Kāzrūn:-

There is no flaw if I did bow the neck of faith 'fore him.
I found his person right above the blemish of each sort. (4)

As a disciple of these saints, he learnt mystic philosophy to his heart's content. This can be easily evolved out of a study of his

Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. II, page 69.

(1)

(2) در اثنائے سیاحت بصحبت شیخ العارف قدوة المحققین رکن الملتہ والدین علاؤ الدولہ سمنائی رسیدہ در یہ شیخ شد و سالہا در صوفی آباد صوفی بود و اشعار حضرت شیخ را جمع نمودے و اس رباعی در حق حضرت شیخ اور است

رباعی
ہر کبوتر علی مرغی شد - چون خضر بر چشمہ حیوانی شد
از دہن مرغ غارت شیطان دآر - مانند علاء دولہ سمنائی شد
تذکرۃ الشعراء ص ۱۶۶

(3) خاک این درگاہ را اگر زانکہ تاج سر کنی - از تکبر خضر بر شاہان بحر و بر کنی
و رجو خواجو آستافش را بجزگان تر کنی - دامن جان را ز آب دیدہ ہر گویا تر کنی

ہیچ ے دالی کہ در این رہ کراہبر کنی
مرشد الدین قدوة الاقطاب بوانا قرا
Fol. 47 A دیوان خواجو

(4) گر نہادم گردن تسلیم پیش عیب نیست - زانکہ ذاتش را ز بر عیب مبرا یافتم
Fol. 56 B دیوان خواجو

works. In one place he says:-

Darveshism's the royal cup of wine,
But 'tis a flower of the vale Divine. (1)

In the above couplet, Khwājū attributes Darveshism to the Divine source. He calls it metaphorically a cup of wine, which is nothing short of spirit and again he entitles it the flower which is the essence of beauty. Now let us turn to the *Kashf-al-Mahjūb* for the explanation of 'faqr'. The passage runs as follows:-

"Dervishhood in all its meanings is a metaphorical poverty, and amidst all its subordinate aspects there is a transcendent principle. The Divine mysteries come and go over the dervish, so that his affairs are acquired by himself, his actions attributed to himself, and his ideas attached to himself. But when his affairs are freed from the bonds of acquisition (kasb), his actions are no more attributed to himself. Then he is the Way, not the wayfarer, i.e. the dervish is a place over which something is passing, not a wayfarer following his own will. Accordingly, he neither draws anything to himself nor puts anything away for himself: all that leaves any trace upon him belongs to the essence." (2)

Again he says on another occasion:-

The heart's the candle of the royal tent;
It's that to which the eye Divine is bent. (3)

In this couplet, Khwājū says that the heart has its direct communion with Allah and it is free from all other ties. This theory of our poet's as regards the heart is nothing short of that principle which the *Kashf-al-Mahjūb* describes in the following words:-

"...People in general give the name of 'heart' (dil) to that piece of flesh which belongs to mad-men and ecstasies and children, who really are without heart (bédil). What, then, is this heart, of which I hear only the name? That is to say, if I call intellect the heart, it

(1) فقر من ساغر سلطانی است - بلکه کل کائنات سبجانی است روضه الانوار ص ۹۱

Kashf-al-Mahjūb, page 28.

(2)

(3) شمع سراپرده شاهی دل است - بلکه نظرگاه الهی دل است روضه الانوار ص ۱۸۵

16

is not the heart; and if I call spirit the heart, it is not the heart; and if I call knowledge the heart, it is not the heart. All the evidences of the Truth subsist in the heart, yet only the name of it is to be found." (1)

The Kashf-al-Lughāt defines the heart in a mystic^{cause} as follows:

Heart is the house for Allah set apart:
What! thou dost call the devil's place thy heart?
The frame that taketh still the dye of soul,
It never dies but it is quick and whole. (2)

Still again, he says in another place:-

Stand Khwājū, come thro' the chamber's door of the ascetics;
Look at the not-living who have renounced the realm of life. (3)

In this couplet Khwājū announces the practice of self-mortification for the purification of the soul. It is the same principle as is to be found in the Kashf-al-Mahjūb quoted below:-

"Eternal life is gained by spiritual sacrifice and by renunciation of self-interest in fulfilling God's commandment and by obedience to His friends. But from the standpoint of gnosis (Ma'rifat) preference and free choice are separation (tafriqat), and real preference consists in union with God, for the true basis of self-interest is self-abandonment." (4)

From a cursory glance at these parallel instances, it is brought home to the readers' minds that Khwājū versifies Sūfī-ism in the above couplets. His versification of this type is a clear indication of his experience in this subject. For how could he have done so had he not studied mysticism deeply? Hence, we have evolved the sequence to our premises that Khwājū studied vastly mysticism as well.

Geography. He had cultivated his taste in this branch of knowledge to such an extent as to use the names of places in his poetry. They are not the proverbial places like Cathay and Khutan famous for beauty in Persian poetry. On the contrary, they are quite unfamiliar places that he mentions, and he mentions them because of their definite associations in his mind." An example is given below in proof of our

Kashf-al-Mahjūb, page 144. (1)

(2) دل یکے خانہ الیت ربانی - خانہ دیو را چہ دلخوائی

ہر آن قالب کہ رنگ روح گیرد - یقین میداں کہ او ہرگز نمیرد

کشف اللغات ص ۳۴ لم جلد اول

(3) خیز خواجو وز درِ خلوت گئے مستان در آئے - نیستان را بسین کہ ترک ملک ہستی کردہ اند

Fol. 139 A دیوان خوا

Kashf-al-Mahjūb, page 194. (4)

statement. He says in one place thus:-

The monarchs of Saklāb and Rum walk by your horse; on foot,
The kings of China and Kāshgar bow 'fore your elephant. (1)

"Saqlāb (Sclavonia). A broad kingdom of the seventh clime. Its most famous town is Madīnat-al-Fīl (the Elephant City), which is also called Qatāniyah,...". Nuzhat-al-Qulub. P.252.

How valuable and full of reference is the word 'pīl' of this couplet in relation with "the Elephant City" for a solid proof of the above remark of ours. This pursuit in knowledge reflects upon the course of studies prevalent in those days according to the system in vogue which our poet enjoyed as well.

Persian Literature. Still again, he had critically studied all the greatest poets of Persia. It is due to this constant application of his mind to their works that he lived as they lived, plainly, and thought as they thought, highly. Among these stars of the first magnitude, undoubtedly, he did not shine apart, but he shed his light among them in the firmament of Persian Literature. He versifies them in the tapestry of poetry, as if the names of these poets were on the tips of his fingers:-

If all my links you full well know, I Anvarī may be;
My element, if right you know, I may be Unsurī;
I claim Sanāī true to be, if verse is e'er discussed;
When to the mosque I wend my way, I speak of Imāmī. (2)

again

I boast of being Khākānī in the realm of verse,
Due to Anvarī of my sense, the mart of the sun is brisk. (3)

Further, speaking of poetry from personal experience, he alludes to a fragment of Anvarī. (4) This reference of Khwājū among such others, shows how deeply he has studied one of the greatest poets of Persia:

Here is a piece of Anvarī,
His works you read and find it there;
I am ashamed of verse, indeed;
I by the Seven Tenets swear. (5)

- (1) بر سر اسبست پیاده خسرو و سقلا ب و روم - پیش پیلست
(2) انوری باشد اگر روشن بدانی نصیتم - عنقریب باشد اگر نیکو بینی جوهرم
از سنائی دم زخم در بستم از بختی شجور - و ز امامی باز گویم چون به سجده بزم
(3) لاف با فغانی زخم در ملک معنی زانکه هست - گریه باز از شمس از انوری شمس
(4) انوری شعر و حرص دانی نیست - آن یک طفل و آن دگر دایه
پایه حرص و گدایه و طمع اند - تا نگردی بگر داین پایه
(5) نه آخر انوری را قطع است - بدانی چون که دیوانه بخوانی
مرا از شاعری و شعر ننگ است - بحق و حرمت سبع المثانی
- Fol. 23 A دیوان خواجو
Fol. 14 B دیوان خواجو
Fol. 48 B دیوان خواجو
Fol. 67 B دیوان خواجو

Besides the mystic works of Sanā'ī, the panegyrical and other works of Ūnsurī, Anvarī, Khākānī and Imāmī, Khwājū studied romance as well. Making a reference to the work of the Vīs and Rāmīn of Fakhr-ud-Dīn As'ad of Gurgān, he writes the following couplets in the Gul-Nauruz as a critic:-

A group of the saints that make wisdom bright,
Says to me, "O bird, whose heart burns right,
What is the contrast 'fore the men of judgment keen
'Twist the Gul-u-Nauruz and Vīs-Rāmīn!
That sugar which possesseth not good taste
Before the monarchs doth its sweetness waste. (1)

Moreover, he is so much attached to the works of Nizāmī of Ganjā as to confess the superiority of Nizāmī to himself in his own words in the Kamāl Nāmāh:-

Although a famous poet you may be
You follow still the verse of Nizāmī;
Give up the Makhzan-i-Asrār, I say,
Pass o'er the line of the compasses, aye.
The bursar of the store is your own wise mind;
Your view the secrets of wisdom doth find. (2)

It is due to this sincere appreciation of the works of Nizāmī, a result of our poet's thorough mastership of the greatest Romantic poet of Persia, that Khwājū wrote the Quintet after the model of Nizāmī.

History. Khwājū acquired full information of the ancient history and folk-lore of Persia, especially as pen-pictured in the battle-fields of the Shāh-nāmāh. He says in one place:-

The arrow that was shot by her alluring eyes,
My mind to Arash's arrow did it compare. (3)

The reference to Arash is to a dead shot mentioned in the Shāh Nāmāh:

He hath fire 'neath his feet, 'tis true,
Sām's mace, Arash's arrow too. (4)

Again, in another place, he says:-

Although by blood of Siyāvash^(a) my skirt besmeared has been,
Don't set your face to Turkistān lest you should fall in Bezan^(b) well.

(3) هر خد ناله که غمزه اش بکشود - نسبتش دل به تیر آرش کرد
Foll. 197 B دیوان خواجہ

(4) بزمیر پی آنکه هست آتش - که سایش گز است و تر آرش
من ۲۱۲ شصت و یکم طهر ان شمس ۱۱

(5) ترا خون سیاوش گرم دامن گیر شد لیکن بجز گستان منورخ تا نیفتی در دیر
Foll. 14 A دیوان خواجہ

(a) Some prominence to Siyāvash.
See Siyāvash, p. 713, A Comprehensive
Persian-English Dictionary by Dr. Gholamhossein

(1) گروهی بودان دانش افروز - مرا گوید کاسے مرغ جگر سوز
چه نسبت پیش اهل درائے و کس - گل و نوروز را بادیں و راس
شکر کال لذت نش چندی نباشد - بنزد خسرواں شیریں نباشد
خواجہ کرمانی - سید نقی ص ۱۸
(2) گرچه سخن سپرد و ربانی تو - معقده نظم نظامی توئی -
در گذر از مخزن اسرار او - برگزید از جدول پرکار او
خازن مخزن دل دانائے تست - محرم اسرار خرد درائے تست
روضه الانوار ص ۱۴

on the words Firdausī and Firdaus (Paradise) that enhances the beauty of the language:-

If wisdom calls me Firdausī, there's no defect, because,
From my abode a postal is for heaven's paradise. (1)

Besides his knowledge of the folk-lore and history of Persia mentioned in the Shāh-nāmah, he seems to have studied the literary History of Persia as well. This is proved to be so in the following lines:-

By virtue of true faithfulness, Anvarī of Khāvan
Had made the by-word of his speech the praise of 'bul Ḥasan. (2)

With reference to 'bul Ḥasan Prof-Browne writes, "The princes, ruler and men of note most frequently mentioned by Anvarī include Sultān Sanjar, Abūl-Fath Tāhir b. Fākhru'l-Mulk, the grandson of the Nidhāmu'l-Mulk, Sultān Tughritigin, 'Imād u'd-Dīn Fīrūzshāh, the Governor of Balkh, Khwāja-i-Jahān Majdu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Imrānī, Sayyid Abū 'Tālib, and ... Hamīdu'd-Dīn." (3) The name that has been underlined by us is the patron of Anvarī referred to above by Khwājū in his couplet. In support of this statement, we reproduce a couplet of Anvarī in the praise of Abū'l Ḥasan. It runs as follows:-

Majdu'd-Dīn 'bul Ḥasan 'Imrānī in his charity
Has shown his palm among the clouds like our Moses' white hand. (4)

The coincidence of the couplet by Khwājū, no. 2 above, and by Anvarī, no. 3, with reference to 'bul Ḥasan bear evidently ample evidence to our statement that Khwājū studied the literary history of Persia also.

Music. It is interesting to note that he was devoted to the goddess of poetry at whose altar, he worshipped day and night. A regular rise and fall of rhymes among the works of the greatest poets of Persia produced a harmony in his mind. The latent powers working at his heart cultivated a taste for music in Khwājū. As an admirer of Greek Philosophy in his own words he has written:-

(1) گر خرد فردوسیم خواند نباشد عیب از آنک - جنت فردوس بابی باشد از مادائے من Fol. 48 B دیوان خواجو
(2) انوری خاوری از سر صدق و صفا - ورد زبان ساخته محمدت بو الحسن Fol. 51 A دیوان خواجو

A Literary History of Persia, from Firdausi to Sa'adi, by Prof. Browne, P. 390. (3)

(4) محمد الدین بو الحسن عمرانی آنکه بچود - کف دستش یه بیضا بنماید بغمام کلیات نظم انوری ص ۲۷۲

If from the table of Luḳmān, you want a morsel, O Khwājū,
Then lose in game the land of Greece for the philosophy of
Greece (1)

Thence, in the words of Plato, he did "cultivate and make music". (2)

It is not meant hereby that he was a singer like Rūdagī (b. ?d. 954 A.D.) who flourished in the reign of the Sāmānīd king Naṣr bin Ahmad; but we mean that he had an ear for music and had studied the rules of music as he himself mentions many tunes in his couplets. A few of them are quoted for the sake of interest:-

Some time he heard the singer's 'Kual' and then,
He drank the glowing liquor soon, again. (3)

The word 'Kual' (4) "in the technique of the singers is a tune which contains the element of Arabic in it as well."

On another occasion, he says:-

The warblers of the valley sing the 'ushshāk' tune so sweet,
In cadence with the philomel along the New Year's song. (6)

"The 'Ushshāk' tune and Irāk tune refer to a strain in music". (6)

Again he says at another time:-

Pray, hear the 'ushshāk' melody from the 'sipāhān' tune,
Because that play-doll of Irāk resideth at Irāk. (7)

The word 'sipāhān' denotes "the name of a strain in music." (8)

On the perusal of these instances, it is not unsafe to assert that he was studious enough to drink deep at the sweet spring of music; hence the mind of our poet was set to work by his teachers in books. He began to soar high upon the wings of their ideals. He felt an urge to reach the climax of perfection.

Ethics. To attain the aim in his view, he advanced his studies in Ethics as well; as he says:

I with my heart-ache happy am,
Because its cure lies in that pain. (9)

It is needless to remark here that Khwājū portrays his courage in this

(1) خواجہ ارقم از سفرہ لقمان طبری - ملک یونان از حکمت یونان بازار	(5) خوش نوا یاں چمن در پردہ عشاقین - نوبت نوروز بر آید ہزاراں
Fol. 181 B دیوان خواجہ	Fol. 324 A دیوان خواجہ
(2) Phaedo - the Dialogue of Plato	(6) پردہ عراق و پردہ عشاق ہر کد ام نوائے از موسیقی است
198 م	بہار عجم صفحہ 194 جلد 1
(3) گئے قول مطرب ہجے کرد گوش - گئے بارہ لعل سے کرد گوش	(7) بشنو نوائے عشاق از پردہ سپاہاں - زان رو کہ در عراق آسمان صبا
ہما دیہاویں ص 122	Fol. 215 A دیوان خواجہ
(4) قول در اصطلاح موسیقان نوائے از سرود کہ دران	(8) سپاہاں نام پردہ از موسیقی غیاث اللغات صفحہ 21
عبارت عربی نیز داخل شد	(9) از ان بادرو سے ساز کم دل را - ہم از درد تو دریاں سے توان
غیاث اللغات ص 21	Fol. 165 A دیوان خواجہ
طبع نو لکھنؤ در کانپور 18 اربل 1860	

couplet in avoiding any medical treatment for love and in finding remedy in its pain only. He determines to enjoy a fight between disease and will power. Endurance of pain helps will power to suppress the disease and his endurance is little short of courage. Thus in the words of Aristotle "men are called courageous for enduring painful things". (1)

On another occasion, he says:-

Although the orchard is the place of happiness and mirth,
Do not be glad, because, due to the ups and downs of time
Each hyacinth is a sign of the red-faced sweetheart's braid,
Each tulip is a symbol of the blood of a young prince. (2)

In these couplets, at the sight of the pleasant things, Khwājū suggests to the spectator the source of their sorrow, lest he be betrayed from the path of right distinction, as Aristotle says: "But in all cases we must be especially on our guard against pleasant things, and against pleasure; for we can scarce judge her impartially." (3)

Still again, at another time, Khwājū says:-

O mind, don't gloomy be because my soul from darksome place
Had reached again like to Khizār the fountain sweet of life. (4)

Here we see, our poet makes a nice distinction between pleasure and pain; as "Plato says, man needs to be so trained from his youth up as to find pleasure and pain in ^{the} right objects." (5)

Further still, he says in another place:-

I like the cypress have become free of this life, anon,
Like narcissus if of gold my skirt is not full mind not. (6)

In this couplet, he is quite indifferent to poverty; as Aristotle says, "Poverty, perhaps, we ought not to fear, nor disease, nor generally those things that are not the result of vice, and do not depend upon ourselves". (7)

Metaphysics. In addition to Ethics, Khwājū studied Metaphysics. There are many evidences of this statement of ours in his own works. We reproduce a few of them:

That which appears delight to be is sorrow in disguise,
What is the stage of all the wise? The path of ignorance. (8)

The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, P. 32 (5)

(6) من که چون سرو از بهار بیکبار آزاد آمدم - دانم چو نرسد از زینبش
Fol. 161 B

The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, P. 80 (7)

(8) شادی بیدارم غم بهمانی است - منزل دانا را نادانی است
روضه الانوار طهرانی

The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle (1) P. 89.

(2) بستان اگر چه جان نشاء است خرم مشو دروگر ز دستان دروگر
Fol. 201 A

(3) هر سبیل ز زلف نگار است لاله رخ - هر لاله زون جو است کبریا
Fol. 201 B

The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, P. 56 (3)

(4) دل مباش تیره که جانم ز تیرگی - هم چو خفته چمن چو ان رسید باز
Fol. 168 B

With reference to this theory of ignorance, he says again:-

Don't call me wise and learned as throughout the world
I heard about no blessing but this ignorance. (1)

In the first couplet Khwājū selects the path of ignorance to be the right course of his future development in learning and in the second couplet, he claims to be blessed with ignorance. This conviction of his ignorance prompts him to acquire that which he lacks still or to advance in what he has had already. It is nothing short of what Aristotle says in his *Metaphysica* Vol.VIII, 982b, "And a man who is puzzled and wonders thinks himself ignorant (whence even the lover of myth is in a sense a lover of Wisdom, for the myth is composed of wonders); therefore since they philosophized in order to escape from ignorance, evidently they were pursuing science in order to know, and not for any utilitarian end."

Our poet speaks about love in three different places which we reproduce one after the other:

If one is not devoted to the beauty of thy face
He is a painting on the wall. I do not call him man. (2)

and

If you're the master of your heart entrust it to a friend,
For he who hath not any friend a base man I call him. (3)

and

I'm not the only person who loveth the beauties sweet,
Who claimeth not to love the face of the cypress-sized ones? (4)

In couplet no.2 and couplet no.3, our poet portrays love in general, but in the third couplet no.4, he challenges all of us to disprove his statement that love is not a principle in life. This is exactly what Aristotle says in the above mentioned work 984b, "One might suspect that Hesiod was the first to look for such a thing - or some one else who put love or desire among existing things as a principle, as Parmenides, too, does; for he, in constructing the genesis of the

- Fol. 66.B دیوان خواجو (1) مرا تو فاضل و دانا مخوان که در عالم - سعادت نشنیدم و رانے نادانی
- Fol. 150A دیوان خواجو (2) به نقش روئے تو هر آدینی که دل نه خمد - من آدمیش نگویم که نقش دیوار است
- Fol. 158A دیوان خواجو (3) این دل اربا خویش داری رو به لدار سپار - کانکه دلداری ندارد در نزد ما در اقبال است
- Fol. 227A دیوان خواجو (4) میل خویاں من بے سرو پا دارم و بس - کیست آنکو برخ سرو قدان مائل نیست

universe, says:-

Love first of all the Gods she planned.

And Hesiod says:-

First of all things was chaos made, and then
Broad-breasted earth,.....
And love, 'mid all the gods pre-eminent,

which implies that among existing things there must be from the first a cause which will move things and bring them together. How ^{these} thinkers should be arranged with regard to priority of discovery let us be allowed to decide later; but since the contraries of the various forms of good were also perceived to be present in nature- not only order and the beautiful, but also disorder and the ugly, and bad things in greater number than good, and ignoble things than beautiful -therefore another thinker introduced friendship and strife, each of the ^{two the} cause of one of these two sets of qualities." (1)

Furthermore, Khwājū says about God:-

The field of life Thou ever dost command,
The high and low in Thy protection stand. (2)

I see Thee first whate'er I see always,
Thy craft doth dazzle the wit's eyes, I say. (3)

In couplet no.2, he calls God the Commander and the Protector of the universe and in couplet no.3, he entitles Him the First, which is, indeed, exactly the same as what Aristotle says:

"God is thought to be among the causes of all things and to be a first principle." (4)

Besides Ethics and Metaphysics, Khwājū's devotion to Greek Transcendentalism is quite obvious in his own words:-

Transcendentalism. Whom Fates gave wisdom and power in this world,
Give up authority, if you like Greek Philosophy. (5)

This passion for Greek philosophy helped him much to advance his knowledge in this branch of the arts. His studies in this line are profound. His couplets show this:

The works of Aristotle Metaphysica Vol. VIII. (1)

(2) صف آرائے منیه ان هستی توئی - نگه دار بالا و پستی توئی
هماد همایون ص ۶

(3) ترا بینم از هر چه بینم نخست - که ختم خرد خیره در صنع تست
هماد همایون ص ۶

The works of Aristotle Metaphysica 983a. (4)

(5) حکم و حکمت بکه دادند در این ره خواجو - بگذارد از حکم اگر ت حکمت یزدان باید Fol. 218 R دیوان خواجو

Stand up, O Khwājū, that the nest of the Phoenix of death
Is the Caucasus of true life, if you, indeed, would know. (1)

In this couplet, Khwājū means to say that death is not the end of life. On the contrary, death is an entrance to the region where the soul exists for ever. In the *Phaedo*, Plato says to the same effect.

"I am confident that there truly is such a thing as living again, and the living spring from the dead, and that the souls of the dead are in existence, and that the good souls have a better portion than the evil." (2)

Again Khwājū says in another place:-

In the world, whomsoever you see, he's happy with a thing,
The lovers' mirth's to recollect the sweetheart's ogling. (3)

Our Poet expounds the theory of recollection as the source of his mirth, and he recollects what he saw and knew before. It is nothing short of that which Plato says in the *Phaedo*, "Knowledge is simply recol-lection", (4) or, "That what a man recollects he must have known at some previous time." (5)

Further he says at another time:-

Say let the head be off, for Khwājū's soul
Thinks of the Friend, the body's for the cross. (6)

In the above couplet, our poet implies that the soul returns to Allah and the body is reduced to dust. This is exactly the same as what Plato says, "The soul which is pure at departing and draws after ^{her} no bodily taint,.....departs to the invisible world.....to the divine and immortal and rational." (7)

Chess. In order to develop his power of thinking and concentration of mind he did study the playing of chess as well; so that even after the time of recreation, he might take up his studies in a more cheerful mood. This statement is verified in his own words, because a man cannot know how to write about chess, if he has not studied it well beforehand, and Practised this game during his leisure hours. He says in one place:-

If you would drive the elephant and gallop with the horse,
How can we then place down the rook, while we seek for the mate? (8)

Plato's *Phaedo*, p. 244. (5)

(1) خیزد از جگر نشین که سیرخ فنا - گریه ای بحقیقت مگر آن قافلیقا است

Fol. 43A دیوان خواجو (2) Plato's *Phaedo*, p. 213.

(6) گو بر دگر که جان خواجو را - سر یار است و هم را سردار

Fol. 513 B دیوان خواجو

Plato's *Phaedo*, p. 223.

(3) هر که را بینی بجام دل به چیزه خوش بود - عاشقان را دل بیا در غم و در خوش است

Fol. 87A دیوان خواجو (4) Plato's *Phaedo*, p. 213.

(8) اگر تو دگر برانی واسب در تازی - بگو نه رخ نهیت چو مات می جویم

Fol. 116A دیوان خواجو

That Khwājū knew chess is quite clear from this couplet from the fact of his using 'pīl' ⁽¹⁾ (an elephant ; the name of the bishop in chess), 'asb' ⁽²⁾ (horse), 'rukh' ⁽³⁾ (rook or tower), and 'māt' ⁽⁴⁾ (conquered, subject) reduced to the last extremity, especially at chess) or mate.

Again he says in another place:-

The heaven's king on the chess board of grace
Hath been checkmated 'fore your two bright rooks. (i.e. chess)

The word 'arsā' in the above couplet denotes 'a chessboard' ⁽⁵⁾ (6) and 'māt' has already been explained. It is possible that in this feature of his accomplishments, he has followed the footsteps of his master Nizāmī who also knew chess. Nizāmī says:-

Time did then hold the elephant bodied
And set free the 'pīl-band' of time, again. (7)

The word 'pīl-band' signifies 'a term used in chess to express that a bishop and two pawns mutually support each other'. (8)

Astronomy. As part and parcel of his study of Greek philosophy and the advanced erudition of the scholars of those days, Khwājū of Kir-mān read astronomy as well in accordance with the system of education in science and the arts prevalent in those days in the land of Persia. How cleverly does he put, like Nizāmī of Ganja, ⁽⁹⁾ the constellations in verse. It bespeaks of his expertness and knowledge:-

Since thou dost dwell within my eyes, I cannot help but weep;
When the Moon's in Aquarius, it cannot help but rain. (10)

The 'burj-i-Ābī' (Aquarius) consists of the conjunction of 'the sign Cancer, the sign Scorpio, and the sign Pisces'. ⁽¹¹⁾ Under the influence of this constellation, it rains very heavily, as Amīr Khusrāu of Delhi says in the elegy to the Prince Muḥammad of Multān:-

The planets join, there may the flood of tears be in my eyes,
For the planets' conjunction is in Aquarius. (12)

Again Khwājū says in another place:-

From Gemini its horoscope, its solstice with the dragon's tail
Its station, the 'Kaff-ul-Khaḍīb' its conjunction, the moon.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>Dictionary of the Hindustani Language by Duncan</i> (8)
P. 226. (9) <i>طالعش حوت وشرقی در حوت - زیره با اوتیل با یاقوت</i>
ماه در تیر و تیر در جوزا - ادج مزج در اسد پیدا
زحل زردلو با قوی رائی - خضم را داده باد پیمانی
ذنب آورده روی در زحلش - آفتاب او فتاده در حلالش
با چنین طالع که بر دم نام - چون ز اقبال زاده شد بهرام
(10) <i>تا تو در دشتی مرا از گریه خالی نیست چشم - ماه چون در برج آبی شد ز باران چار نیست</i>
(11) <i>"سرطان و عقرب در حوت" غیث الفات من 44</i>
(12) <i>جمع شد سیاره دوششم مکرر خوان شود - چون به برج آبی انجم را قرآن آمد بهر</i>
<i>ترکیب بنده من 129</i> <i>منتخب التواریخ نمیه 129</i> <i>درین مکتب که در این تاریخ</i>
<i>از دو یکصد و پنجاه و دو سالش مقابل با ذنب - عقربش کف الخشب الما قریش با</i></p> | <p><i>A Dictionary of the Hindustani Language by Duncan Forbes, p. 226.</i> (1)
<i>Persian-English Dictionary by F. Steingass P. 571</i> (2)
<i>Persian-English Dictionary by F. Steingass P. 1136.</i> (3)
<i>A Dictionary of the Hindustani Language by Duncan Forbes, p. 656.</i> (4)
(5) <i>بر عرصه شهاب گردون - پیش دو رخ تو شاه مات است</i>
<i>دیوان ناوله</i> Fol. 154A
<i>Persian-English Dictionary by F. Steingass, p. 842.</i> (6)
(7) <i>بنده بر بلبلن زمانه آباد - بلبل بنده زمانه را بلبلشاد</i>
<i>منتخب التواریخ نمیه 129</i></p> |
|--|---|

The words Gemini, horoscope, solstice, and the Dragon's tail all indicate his knowledge of astronomy; while the 'Kaff-ul-Khazib' is 'the name of a star, red in colour, situated in the north.' (1)
Scrutinising all the above instances, we can safely come to the conclusion that Khwājū had studied astronomy as well.

Medicine. Lastly, through the critical perusal of his works, we get an authentic report to the effect that Khwājū studied anatomy and acquired some knowledge of the effects of medicines in general.

In grief my hands are on my heart; my heart, like me, two hands doth ever beat upon its head. What is this tyranny? (2)

The idea of 'beating' as expressed by Khwājū in the above couplet signifies the physical condition of the heart. He explains the rise and fall of blood thus in the words of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 22, page 998, Edition xiv: "The heart becomes filled with venous blood during its relaxation or diastole, and forces the blood into ^{the} arteries during its contraction or systole." Moreover, to bear evidence to the truth of the statement of our poet, we reproduce a quotation from the Mufarrriḥ-ul-Kulūb, an authentic work on anatomy in Persian:-

"Two pieces of flesh in the form of ligaments appear high in the shape of two ears that are called the heart. They are set in order for the inlet of air and the outlet of exhalation. When the heart is shut, these unite together, so that, air which has been held, may enter into the heart when the heart is open, both of them are separated, so they may get another quantity of air!" (3)

In another place, Khwājū says:-

I'm sick of dropsy and your sea of bounties is so great;
Pray, let me have the syrup as my dropsy passeth cure. (4)

A man suffering from dropsy is not satisfied with water. His thirst increases moment after moment. Our poet compares his patron's bounties to water and calls himself sick of dropsy which is expressed thus in the 'Iksir-i-Ā'zam', "The symptoms in general of all the

(1) نام ستاره ایست سرخ رنگ بجانب شمال - غیث اللغات ص ۴۲

(2) من دست بردم زخم دل چو من دو دست - بر سر بے زند که چه جور دستگیر است Fol. 140B دیوان خواجہ

(3) دو پاره گوشت عصبی برآمده است بر شکل دو گوش که آنرا اذنی القلب خوانند و فول نسیم و خردج بخار را مده اند و منقبض شود این هر دو فراهم آیند تا نسیم هوا که گرفته باشند بدل اندر شود و چون منقبض گردد هر دو پهن باز کسب هوائی دیگر نمایند - مفرح القلوب ص ۹۴ مطبع اسلامیه لاہور ۱۳۳۲ھ

(4) من چنین مستقی و دریا - فضلت بے حساب - شربت ده زانکه بگذشت از حد استغنائے من Fol. 49B دیوان خواجہ

kinds of dropsy are.....in the majority of cases loss of appetite and great desire for water." (1)

Again on another occasion, he says:-

The world prepared the cordial of rubies so that wit
May cure the brain of time of the disease of mania. (2)

Khawājū administers the 'Mufarriḥ-i-Yakūt' - the cordial of rubies - as a cure for melancholia. It is the same as given in materia medica, entitled *Karābādīn Kādīrī* in Persian, "Mufarriḥ-i-Yākūt is that medicine which cures melancholia and strengthens the brain, the vital parts of the body and the stomach. It is very useful. As its characteristics are beyond any limit, it has been dealt with in brief." (3)

Now keeping in view the vast sphere of his studies, our poet has laid his foundation stone for the erection of a magnificent edifice of his poetical works as is described in the words of Nizāmī Ātrūzī of Samarkand, the author of the *Chahār Makālah*: "A poet should be a man of sound wisdom, good nature, excellent behaviour, keen insight and varied accomplishments in the different kinds of arts and sciences" (4). The remark "varied accomplishments in the different kinds of arts and sciences" makes our research quite clear in respect of Khawājū. We have quoted what he wrote, nothing more, nothing less. The references to the various branches of arts and sciences are a source of enjoyment to a reader, while he is making a rich feast of the works of a poet. These help to shake off his lethargy caused by monotonous reading. Variety is supplied in abundance which is ever appealing to the human mind. Is it not to the credit of a poet that he enlarged the sphere of his studies before he professed to attempt poetry? In this respect, our poet evinced marked capability, indeed.

(1) علامات کلی جمیع الزواع استقامت در اکثر اشتها بنا بر شدت خواش آب اکیر اعظم جلد سوم ص ۲۲ مطبع نوکلشور لکهنو ۱۹۱۷

(2) بهر آن مفرح یا قوت کرد ز آنکه بجمکت - بردن برد زردماغ زمانه علت سودا Fol. 28 B دیوان خواجه

(3) مفرح یا قوتی که مایه خولیا را باصلاح آورد و دماغ و دیگر اعضا را رئیس و قوت دهد و بنایت نافع است
چون خوبی و برون از حد اختصار یافت - قرابادین ص ۶۶ مطبع نامی نوکلشور لکهنو ۱۹۱۷

(4) اما شاعر باید که سلیم الفطرة صحیح الطبع جید الرویه دقیق النظر باشد در الزواع علوم متنوع باشد - چهارمقال
نظایر در قی ۱۹۲۰
S. M. Co.

The authors of the *Tazkirat-ul-Shu'arā*, the *Majma'-ul-Fuṣṣḥā*, the *Majālis-ul-Mu'minīn* and the *Ātash-kadah* are all silent about the line of work adopted by Khwājū after his studies. We are obliged to the author of the *Mai-Khānah* who says, "He attempted poetry in his youth and the spring of his life." Similarly, we are indebted to the author of the *Haft Ikhlām* who says, "In the beginning, he devoted himself to poetry, so much so that he grew perfect in that art." (2) Criticism. With due deference to their memory, we feel sorry to write that these statements of the *Mai-Khānah* and the *Haft Ikhlām* omit the evidence of the poet himself to their truth. Though these writers can be excused for ignoring these evidences on the basis of their attempting voluminous works and thus diffusing their energies, they have not given any reference whereto we may judge the truth or falsity of their statements. Hence we can be forgiven for hesitating to entertain these remarks as the hard facts about the life of Khwājū, as long as they are not supported by the poet himself.

Now, let us take up the research of the modern authors of Persian Literature about Khwājū. Dr Masrūr writes in his introduction to the *Rauza-tul-Anvār* of Khwājū, "He completed his studies at Kirmān and began to compose verses there. Khwājū was thinking of poetry in his childhood. He devoted his energies to this subject. Accordingly he says in the *Rauza-tul-Anvār* that he was told in his dream that he would be among the famous poets". (3) Sā'id Nafīsī, the author of *The Life and Selected Couplets of Khwājū of Kirmān*, writes, "Khwājū says in the *Rauza-tul-Anvār*:-

- (4) In time of youth and tender age, my mind
Like to a mirror bright I e'er did find;
.....
The jeweller old of the high sky when
He hid the shining Sun in the West, then
I did observe from this luminous sky
An angel came down to the earth from high
And graced the roof like the full Moon, anon,
Brought me the message from God, the Great One.....
The power of speech he infused in me
With the sweet Fount of Immortality.

<p>(4) خواب خود در وقت الاواره گوید در صغر و زمان صبا - بود در آئینه و قیام صفا چون ملک پیر جوهر فروش - کرد بنیان آئینه بفت جوش دیدم از سحره تابناک - کرده ملک روی در الوان خاک آه چون بدر منیرم پیام - سوسه من آورد در حضرت پیام در نظرم و او تکلم برادر - در دل من چشمه جان بر کشاد</p>	<p>(1) در اول جوانی و آغاز زینهار زندگانی در مقام انتظام نظم بود - (2) ابتدا بهت برگشتن شوگماست تا در آن فن مرتبه کمال حاصل کرد (3) تحصیلات خود را در کرمین پایتخت رسانیده و در میان شروع به سخن سرایی کرده است خواب از طفولیت در فکر شاعری بوده و در این زمینه خواهی خود را صرف میکرد است چنانچه در روضه الاواره گوید که هنگام طفولیت در خواب دیده که پادشاه اندک ترا سخن بر زبان می زد روضه الاواره مقدمه ناشر ص ۵۵</p>
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At dawn from sleep to rise I was not late
Due to the light of that Apollo great.
I told my dream the interpreter all;
Who said, "O sweet tongued parrot hear my call,
The land of verse will be your property
And reason will e'er praise you happily. (1)

31

Go leave your memory for every clime;
 You ought to conquer the town of verse all;
 To the king dedicate the work withal.
 You will be famous through this work, I know,
 And 'fore the kings your honour will e'er grow." (1)

These lines of the Humā-u-Humāyūn supersede the lines of the Rauza-tul-Anvār in respect of the time of their composition in the words of the poet. They show that Khwājū dreamt of such fancies eleven years earlier than the period which is the basis of the research of Dr Masrūr and Saīd Nafīsī.

These pious dreams would suit the chivalrous age of the Shāh-nāmah. It is a nine days' wonder that, in this scientific age of speed records, we support these dreams. What is the use of chasing the will-o-the-wisp of dreams; even in the romantic works of Khwājū, of which he speaks himself so discouragedly:-

My precious life I spent in fiction all,
 I only could produce romance, withal. (2)

And he, still again, disclaims directly his own romantic works thus:-

May be this tale or not, it matters not
 To me; in flowing verse for charm I sought. (3)

Under this flat disclaimer of our poet with regard to his romantic works, the magnificent edifice of the research of Dr Masrūr and Saīd Nafīsī erected upon the fundamental basis of dreams is levelled to the ground altogether.

For the sake of maintaining the prestige of our learned biographers, the theory of dreams can be reconciled only for Khwājū's ardent passion for Greek Philosophy, as he says:-

That one who knoweth Greek Philosophy hath got the rule o'er
 If you desire the rule of Greece, acquire then Greek Philosophy. (4)

In a mood of ecstasy or by way of imitation, he might have written of dreams what we read from Plato's Crite, which runs as follows:-

Cr. And what was the nature of the vision?
 Soc. There appeared to me the likeness of a woman, fair and comely, clothed in bright raiment, who called to me and said: O Socrates,
 'The third day hence to fertile Phythia shalt thou go.'" (5)

برود در جهان یادگارے کن
 ہمارے ہر ہر منہ ۳۳ - ۳۲

دیار سخن جہان تاراج کن - سرنامہ و انام شہ تاج کن

کلام کریم نامہ نامی شوی - ہنزدیک شاہان گرامی شوی

(۲) ہم انسانہ عرب بسر بردہ ام - در دنیا کہ انسانہ آوردہ ام

(۳) مرا زین چہ کیس قصہ بود از نمود - بشعر ہواں بحر باید نمود

(۴) حکم یونان یا بہ آتش حکمت یونان بود - حکمت یونان طلب کر حکم یونان باید مت

Crite. the Dialogue Plato, p. 144. (5)

This coincidence of dreams might have satisfied others as to his adoption of the art of poetry by the stimulus of such visions, but we hesitate to accept its truth in the face of the couplets of the Rauza-tul-Anvār itself which follow immediately the quotation of Sa'id Nafīsī from the Rauza-tul-Anvār mentioned above:-

The arrow of your fame the Twins will kiss,
The Pleiades your high name will not miss;
The messenger of heaven, let alone,
Because, from that emerald-like blue zone,
The bearer of the writ from high who came
Had ended it in the great Prophet's name.
The blessed angel, then, listen to it,
Before the wise is nothing else but wit. (1)

On the perusal of these couplets, we know that Khwājū supports reason and rejects dreams in the same way as Plato says, "For I am and always have been one of those natures who must be guided by reason, whatever the reason may be which upon reflection appears to me to be the best." (2) Hence, this theory of dreams mentioned in the romantic work falls down like a castle of cards on the evidence of Khwājū as quoted above.

We want to bring home to the mind of our readers that 'thinking' and 'dreaming' written for Khwājū by Dr Masrūr and Sa'id Nafīsī are not to the credit of our poet with regard to practical side of life. If, for the sake of argument, we submit to this theory of our contemporaries, then it follows quite clearly that Khwājū 'thought' and 'dreamt' of acquiring that which he did not possess already. In other words, it is tantamount to saying his impetus and impulse for poetry were from outside and not from inside. But, let us reproduce what he says about himself in the Rauza-tul-Anvār:-

Born Poet.

We who have sacrificed for verse our soul
The life of verse thro' grief have won our goal;
For verses sake we speechless have been born,
For verse's sake from both the worlds forlorn. (3)

In these lines he himself says that he was a born poet. The poetical

(1) شیر حدیث تو بجو زار رسد - نام بلندت به قریا رسد
از سخن وحی بیا بد گذشت - زانکه درین خطه فیروزه داشت
حاصل مکتوب چون کرد منزل - مهر شد این نامه بنام رسول
گوش کن این نکته که فرخ سرش عقل بود پیش خداوند پرورش
Crit. the Dialogues of A. S. S. p. 146. (2)

(3) ما که جهان وقف سخن کرده ایم - وز غم دل جان سخن برده ایم
بے سخن از بهر سخن زاده ایم - زانکه دو عالم بسخن داده ایم

روضه الانوار ص ۱۲۰

powers were conferred upon him as a Divine gift from inside rather than outside. His own couplets verify our statement:-

ز تو باتو را از گویم بزبان بے زبانی - بہ تو از تو راہ جو ہم نشان بے نشانی
 چہ شوی ز دیدہ پنهان کہ چو روزے نماید - رخ بچو آفتاب ز نقاب آسمانی
 تو چہ معنی لطیفی کہ مجرد از دلیلی - تو چو آیت شریفی کہ منزه از بیانی
 ز تو دیدہ جو بہ وزم کہ توئی چراغ دیدہ - ز تو کے کنار گیرم کہ تو در میان جانی
 ہمہ ہر تو دشمنی ہمہ عنصر تو روحی - ہمہ قطرہ و تو بکری ہمہ گوہر و تو کانی
 جو تو مصرعے نخواند ہمہ موبہ لطافت - جو تو صورتے ندیدم ہمہ سر سر معانی
 بہ جنایت ہم چہ بینی بہ عنایت ہم نظر کن - کہ نگہ کنند شاہاں سوئے بندگان جانی
 بجز آہ و اشک میگول نکشد دل ضعیف - بہ سماع ارغنونی و شراب ارغوانی
 دل در مہر تو اجو بہ خدنگ غمہ خستن - نہ طریق دوستان ست و نہ شرط مہربانی

There is no trace of complexity, imitation and labour in the above verses. On the other hand, there is simplicity, originality, and spontaneity pervading throughout. It is an invincible proof of his being a born poet. An impulse came from within and not from without, as Plato says in the Apology, "Then I knew that not by wisdom do poets write poetry, but by a sort of genius and inspiration." (1)

Youth. From the days of his maturity, Khwājū avoided all professions. We gather this from his works as there is no reference to any profession there. He devoted himself to the art of poetry. This is proved to be so on his own evidence as follows:-

Thou art so graceful that thy lips excelled gems of the mine,
 Thy separation robb'd me of the pleasures of my youth. (2)

In another place he reiterates the same idea showing thereby that he was attempting only poetry even in his youth, ignoring all other works:-

Thy separation has deprived me of my hope in life,
 The pleasures of my youth are lost due to thy passion's strife. (3)

He conceived a right opinion of his latent faculties in youth which had their outbursts in the form of poetry. He aspired to reach those heights of glory as a poet, which he really deserved. As he says:-

(1) *Apology. The Dialogues of Plato, p. 114*

(2) توئی کہ بعل تو دست از عقیق کافی برد - فراق تو از دل من لذت جوانی برد

Fol. 183 B دیوان خواجہ

(3) مرا ز ہجر تو امید زندگانی کو - در آرزوئے تو لذت جوانی کو

Fol. 163 A دیوان خواجہ

34

The land of verse is Khwājū's property,
I have become it, and it has grown me. (1)

His future progress all round in life was due to his constant devotion to the goddess of poetry and regular study of the great authors, as he himself says in the case of Nizāmī:

Although a famous poet you e'er may be,
You imitate the verse of Nizāmī. (2)

How excellently does Southey explain this position of a poet in his poem 'The Scholar'.

My days among the Dead are past;
Around me I behold,
Where-e'er these casual eyes are cast,
The mighty minds of old:
My never-failing friends are they,
With whom I converse day by day.

With them I take delight in weal
And seek relief in woe;
And while I understand and feel
How much to them I owe,
My ~~tears~~ cheeks have often been bedew'd
With tears of thoughtful gratitude. (3)

Pen Name. The authors of the Majālis-ul-Muminin and the Asar-i-
Ajam say that our poet was "well-known by the name of Khwājū", and
the author of the Mai Khānah asserts, "He was called Khwājū by way of
love and affection, as it is the custom among parents to show kind-
ness to their children and dub them with a name of endearment. Such
a class is favoured with a name and shown love thus." (4)

Dr Masrūr says about him "entitled with the pen-name of Khwājū" (7)
Sā'id Nafīsī confirms this remark and says, "Vav-i-Shabā' in the end of
the parts of speech is the sign of diminutive..... In this case, the
word Khwājū is the diminutive of Khwājah by way of affection. Perhaps
as some have guessed, his admirers have dubbed him with the name
of Khwājū in his early years. He was popular with the same name
among his friends and family. Hence at the time of his attempting
poetry, he adopted this pen-name in order to pay regard to the days
of his childhood." (8)

Criticism. Sā'id Nafīsī follows the Mai Khānah and explains its
statement only without shedding light upon the point himself. While
the truth of the matter is this that our poet Kamāl-ud-Dīn Mahmūd was

(1) ملکہ سخن بلکے خواجہ شدہ - اوہمہ مانگستہ دما او شدہ - روضۃ ۱۹۰ ص ۲۱ طبرانی
(2) ملکہ سخن بلکے خواجہ شدہ - روضۃ ۱۹۰ ص ۲۱ طبرانی
(3) Golden Decadence Book 55, p. 55
(4) مجاہد المومنین المشہور خواجہ ص 519
(5) المشہور خواجہ آثار عجیبہ مقدمہ مجاہد و ہمایوں
(6) بر سبیل اشتقاق و مہربانی اورا خواجہ کے خواجہ چنانچہ ہم پر روماد است
(7) اطفال را نواز شے سے نمایندہ و نام نازی برایشان سے گذارندہ و انجاء
بدیں اسم سے نوازندہ و مہربانی سے فرمایندہ میخانہ ص 4
(8) متخلص بخواجہ - روضۃ الانوار مقدمہ ناصر ص د
(9) داوود در آخر کلمات ملامت تصنیف بودہ دریں صورت واضح است کہ
خواجہ مصنفیت در مقام ملاطفت افر کلمہ خواجہ و شاید چنانکہ بعض حدس ز
این نام را در طفولیت متعین خواجہ بدو دادہ اند و بہرہیں نام در میان
قالا و در آستانیاں معروف بودہ و پس از ان کہ شاعری آغاز کردہ بہا
خاکر و کار کوئی این تخلص را اختیار کردہ و شاعر نفسی صفحہ ۸ و ۹

called Khwājū by his parents irrespective of his being a poet, because the name Khwājū could not be given in anticipation in his childhood as a signification of his pen-name. It was rather a term of endearment as is professed to be so in the Mai-Khānah. Although he uses it in the last couplet like other poets for his nom-de-plume, yet it is surprising to note that our poet himself writes "Kunyat-i-Khwājū", rather than "Takhalluṣ-i-Khwājū"! He says in one place:-

'Tis not at all surprising if a thief,
His title steals from Khwājū's 'Kunyat' so. (1)

Again he writes at another time:-

If thou dost find Khwājū's 'Kunyat', cross it out there and then,
It is akin to shame if the lovers win name and fame. (2)

On such an occasion of the difference of opinion between Khwājū and his biographers, we are bound to prefer Khwājū to them. When he writes 'kunyat' in the above couplets, we have to take him as an authority irrespective of his biographers' statements. So, on his own evidence we are authorised to affirm that the word Khwājū was our poet's 'patronymic' (as 'kunyat' means patronymic) in his early days, and, at his choice and under such circumstances, possibly best known to him, for he is silent about it, he used that very 'patronymic' later on for his nom-de-plume.

Surname. In imitation of Daulat Shāh of Samarkand, all the authors entitle him the 'Nakhalband-i-Shu'ārā' (the gardener of poets), but none of them, we are surprised to see, has taken pains to corroborate the title from his own words, whether or not there is the trace of this surname in his works. To make up this deficiency in research work, ^{by Allah's grace} we quote below the couplets which have a reference to the 'Nakhalband', indeed, Khwājū says in the Humā-u-Humāyūn, page 288:

Thro' wit I did illuminate the candle of my mind,
And to the old I wisdom taught, indeed, of every kind;
Like to a gardener my pen worked on tho' 'tis a reed,
Till it rose high like to a palm of verse from such a seed. (4)

It is clear then, that his biographers have been calling him Nakhalband-

(1) عجب نبود اگر زین گوشت در دے - لقب از کنیت خواجو بدزد
Fol. 78 B دیوان خواجو

(2) اگر به کنیت خواجو رسی قلم در کش - که ننگ باشد از عاشقان بر آید نام
Fol. 117 B دیوان خواجو

(3) A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical, Hindi & English
By John T. Platt, M.A., page 857.

(4) چراغ دل از دانش افروخته - به پیر خرد دانش آموخته
فخام ام نخلبندی نمود - به نخل سخن سر بلندی نمود
بها و بهایوں ۳۸۸

1-Shu 'ārā in respect of these couplets. Firstly, he declares his pen to be working like a gardener and not himself. For the sake of argument, let us assume that, as his biographers say, Khwājū may be called Nakhalbank-i-Shu 'ārā, then, secondly, in this surname the word 'Shu 'ārā' has no particular specification whether of the 'Mutakaddimīn' (classical) or the 'Mutaakhhhirīn' (later) poets. He may be called the Nakhalband-i-Shu 'ārā if he is to be considered as one of the Mutaakh-khirīn (later) poets, but can anyone call him Nakhalband-i-Shu 'ārā generally in comparison to the 'Mutakaddimīn' (Classical) poets as his biographers have called him, while Khwājū himself imitates Nizāmī, one of the classical poets in Persia, and says about him thus:-

Although a famous poet you may be,
You imitate the verse of Nizāmī. (1)

In order to remove the ambiguity of this epithet, it is better to entitle him the 'Afzal-ul-Mutaakhkhirīn', a title written in the 'Khamasa-i-Khwājū, Accession no. 913, Punjab University Library, Lahore. This epithet will have an evident relation to the word 'Fazl' which is used for our poet in the following couplet of his Divān:-

Perfect in faith, the sky of grace, Khwājū,
The world of learning and the main of wit. (2)

Breaking the shackles of conventionality and imitating others, how sweet would it be to find out the surname of the poet in his own words! All the critics will be dumbfounded by the eloquence of his own speech then. Indeed, to cut new ground in contrast to all the other research scholars, we quote the couplets of Khwājū with reference to his own surname:-

Do not conceive that Khwājū will not recollect your lips;
Yours is an idle thought; doth not the parrot think of sweets? (3)

Again our poet says on another occasion:-

Pray hear the song of Khwājū for the parrot of his speech
Excelleth all in all 'you know' the sugar-candy sweet. (4)

(1) گرچه سخن پرور نامی توئی - معتقد نظم نظامی توئی
روضۃ الاذکار ص ۱۷ طبرانی

(2) کمال دین پیر فضل خواجو - جهان علم و دریائے معانی Fol. ۱۶۷ B دیوان خواجو

(3) مکن اندیشه کہ خواجو چکند بادلبت - کیں خیالیست کہ طوطی ز شکر نندیشہ Fol. ۹۷ B دیوان خواجو

(4) گوش کن نغمہ خواجو کہ شکرے شکند - طوطے منطق شیریں شکر گفتارش Fol. ۱۹۲ A دیوان خواجو

Further, Khwājū says at another time:-

When Khwājū speaketh all about your ruby-like lips, then
The world entitles him in worth the 'sweet-tongued parrot', aye.

Title: In the first two couplets, he alludes to his title hesitatingly, but in the third couplet he openly calls himself the 'Tūtī-i-Shakkarzubān (sweet-tongued parrot). Now, ignoring all the indirect references to the Nakhshband-i-Shu'arā and the 'Afzal-ul-Mutāakhkhirīn', our poet revels in his title of the 'Tūtī-i-Shakkarzubān' on his own evidence. We cannot help agreeing with him even at the cost of all the learned biographers.

MARRIAGE.

Daulat Shāh says, "Khwājū belonged to a noble family of Kirmān." (1) The author of the Majālis-ul-Mu'minīn follows him word for word. The writer of the Haft Iklim says, "Kamāl-ud-Dīn Khwājū was one of the grandees of the city." (2) The compiler of the Mai-Khānah writes, "His (Khwājū's) father was one of the great men of Kirmān." (3) We have only the authority of these authors, for the matter under discussion, and Khwājū is silent himself, so it is in no way unsafe to assert that Khwājū as a member of "a good family" (4) married a lady of the same status in respect of her father's position in life. If we take into consideration the fact of his being left an orphan and involved in financial stringencies, it is probable that he did marry a lady of a family equal in position to his mother's status in life, or, last of all, suitable to his own choice, taste and rank in society.

At any rate, as it is a fact that before the time of his maturity, Khwājū owed much to the training and culture of his mother who brought up such a worthy son, similarly, it is an evident truth that after his marriage, Khwājū was indebted greatly to the sympathy and encouragement of his wife who shared all his activities in the thick and thin of life. Their marriage was perfectly happy and they moved quite smoothly on the slippery path of life, unlike Sādī who "was carried off a prisoner to Tripoli in Syria, where he was set to labour on the fortifications. His ransom was purchased at the expense of a forced marriage with a benefactor's daughter, but the unhappiness of it drove him to seek relief in renewed travel." (5)

Although, Khwājū as well as his biographers are silent about his marriage throughout his works, yet there is the reflection of his love and devotion to his wife in the pen-picture of the character of Humāyūn in his romantic work Humā-u-Humāyūn. It is vividly indicated, when Humā in a mood of love says about Humāyūn, page 46:-

(1) خواجه از بزرگ زادگان کرمان بوده ص ۱۴۵ تذکره الشعرا

(2) کمال الدین خواجه از اکابران دیار بوده ص ۷۸ هفت آفیم

(3) و پدر او یکی از اکابران کرمان بوده ص ۷۱ مینا

(4) Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, S. G. Browne, p. 223. (4)

(5) Persian Literature by Levy, page 60. (5)

"What then will say the wise in every art?
 I saw her pretty face and lost my heart;
 Why did I not my life then sacrifice?
 She lured my wounded heart, all in a trice;
 If I win her, I sacrifice my head;
 If she is, I will not be in her stead;
 How long should I about myself now cry?
 It's not fit for the lover to say 'I'.
 He spake out so and shed the tears of blood.
 What should I say, his tears fell in a flood?(1)

To strengthen this statement of ours, we know that Firdausī showed himself to be a loving husband by depicting the character of Bezhan in a manner full of devotion to Munizah in the Shāh Nāmāh. It runs as follows, while Bezhan pours forth his heart before the nurse of Munizah:-

I Bezhan, son of Gev of fame,
 To kill the swine from Irān came;
 I killed them, threw them on the way,
 Their teeth I'd take 'fore my king, aye.
 When I heard of this place of cheer,
 To Gev, Gūdarz I ran ^{not} near;
 Perhaps I may dream here, by grace,
 Of Afrāsiyāb's daughter's face.
 I see the waist in all set right
 Like China's temple good in sight.
 Help me, I'll give you, as 'tis felt,
 My earrings, golden crown and belt.
 Pray, to that fairy face me take
 And in her heart stir up love for my sake. (2)

This view of ours about Firdausī is supported by the Kāvah in these words, "He (Firdausī) was neither greedy nor devoted to the world. In depicting love, he did not show love to anyone else but his own wife. In his own view, he versified the story of Bezhan for love and devotion to his wife." (3) Similarly, we have proved above that Khwājū composed the story of Humā-u-Humāyun to depict love and devotion to his own wife like Firdausī.

A son was born to this happy couple. His name was Mujir-ud-Dīn Abū Sā'id 'Alī as versified by Khwājū in the Kamāl Nāmāh:-

O my dear son, the lodestar of my eye
 A chosen pearl in my casket you lie;
 My mind's bright wick, a rose of my heart's mead,
 The light of my eye-balls, Mujir, indeed.
 You are my son, an ornament to me,
 My dearest son my heart's delight you be.
 Although, from the eternal bliss it came-
 Your 'kunya' Bu Sā'id, 'Alī your name;
 Yet you are called Mujir by the great men,
 In talents high they know you matchless then. (4)

(۱) ازین من چه گویم؟ اهل شرافت - در نقش رخسار دیدار در بیافت
 چرا جان بکرم بهاندم نثار - که بستم دلخسته در نقش یار
 کنم ترک سرگردید دست دمت - بگویم که کن بهستم ار دست هست
 ز احوال خود چند را تم سخن - که عاشق نشاید که گویم که من
 ازین گویم که گفت و دل را بست - چه گویم که آن لحظه چون سگریت
 بهما و بیاور من ۶۶

(۲) منم بیژن لیسو از ایله ال بخت - بر زدم گوار آدم تیر بخت
 سر افشان بر سرم بستم بر راه - که دلمه انباشان بر سرم بخت
 زور را بکشد که آگاهی یافت - سو بگویم و گوید نشانی
 مکره جبهه دقت از اسباب - نماید مرا بخت و فتح بخواب

مجھے بہشت کی راستہ - چوتھا ہوش میں پھر از خواستہ
 از شید رائے کنی تاج زر - ترانچشم و خوشوار و کمر
 مرا سوائے آن خوب چہ آوری - دلش با من اندر بھرا آوری
 شہنامہ معدوم ص ۶۹ در مطبعہ نامی نوکتور ستمبر ۱۹۱۴
 (۳) در بعضی دوشا پرست تھوہ و محضہ در عوام عشق و زلفاں پر و محبت بڑا ہوا
 دستان بیژن جہر و نورش و اپنے سے نظر کیا اظہار دیگرے کی دہ زندگیاں
 (۴) لوزیہ من اے عزیز ہر - زبردت من اے ستودہ گھر
 گل باغ دل و چراغ طہر - شمع طہر تیراے دیدہ مجھ
 ہم مرا زیب و ہم فرزند - ہم مراد نکلتاے دہم دلہند
 کرچہ بہت از اسباب - کہتے ہو سب و نام
 نامداران مجھ کو اندت - و در ہر جہ نظر خواہند

Sā'īd Nafīsī, our contemporary, quotes these couplets of the Kamāl Nāmah in his work under the heading of the "descendants of Khwājū", and writes thus at the end, "as he advises him at this place, it is deduced that his son was tender in age and fit for advice at the period of the composition of the Kamāl Nāmah, that is 744." (1) Criticism. It might be so according to the view-point of our learned contemporary, yet we are diffident to accept this statement in contrast to the authority of Khwājū who addresses his son in the very piece of the Kamāl Nāmah immediately afterwards thus:-

Give up your nature's and your senses' jail,
Know the days of youth, their value e'er hail. (2)

It follows from the second hemistich that Mujīr-ud-Dīn Abu Sā'īd 'Alī, instead of being 'khurd sāl' (of tender age) had reached the time of 'Shabāb' (youth) at the period of the composition of this work; hence Khwājū directed him to be careful against the attraction of the allurements of the world at this critical time of life. Refraining from asserting our opinion in this matter, we are happy to write that Khwājū himself shares our view and supports our statement in his advice to Mujīr-ud-Dīn Abu Sā'īd 'Alī in the same strain, at the same place and in the same work thus after the couplet no.2:-

Be e'er His friend Who hath no friend at all,
Bear grief for Him, Whose grief to none doth fall;
In such a way as the exalted sky,
'Congratulations!' to this son may cry. (3)

It is quite needless to remark that Mujīr-ud-Dīn 'Abū Sā'īd 'Alī had reached the age of youth (Shabāb) in 744 A.H., the date of the composition of the Kamāl Nāmah, as Khwājū himself says:-

This Āzar's work is in seven forty-four,
Like to a sweet-looking beloved e'er more. (4)

Otherwise what was the use of writing a piece of advice in anticipation to a child (Khurd sāl) in the words of Sā'īd Nafīsī. Assuming the age of Mujīr-ud-Dīn Abu Sā'īd 'Alī to be at least 20 years at the time of

- (1) چوں درین مقام بود نصیحت می کند و چنین بر می آید که این فرزند در موقع نظم کمال نامه یعنی بسال ۷۴۴ خرد سال بود و قابل نصیحت سعید نفیسی ص ۴۹
- (2) بگذر از شهر بند طبع و حواس - قدر عهد شباب را بشناس Fol. 78 A کمال نامه
- (3) یار او شو که پیچ یارش نیست - غم او خور که غمگارش نیست
- (4) زان صفت کاسان بلند - گویدت کافری بدین فرزند Fol. 78 A کمال نامه
- (4) شد بتاریخ و پیفصد و میل و چار - کار این نقش آذری چون نگار Fol. 79 A کمال نامه

the composition of this work, we guess that he was born in $744^{A.H.}$ minus $1343^{A.D.}$ 20, that is, $722^{A.H.}$ while Khwājū at that time was $722^{A.H.}$ minus $679^{A.H.}$ that is 43 years of age.

Besides the above quotation of the Kamāl Nāmāh, Khwājū writes a letter to his son which he versifies thus:-

① The Alvand's air for me a garden breeze,
The water of the Rud Āvar wine sweet. (2)

The Alvand is a mountain which "lies to the south-west of Hamadān City, being a celebrated mountain, the circuit of which is 30 leagues. Its summit is never free from snow, and it is visible from a distance of 20 leagues or more away. On the summit of the mountain is a spring of water in the hard rock, and that rock is after the fashion of a building that has been thrown down upon it, and from among these rocks a little water trickles forth." (3) Here he wrote this letter on his sick-bed lamenting therein of his disease and complaining of his weakness he says thus:-

'Mongst the tender-hearted ones o'er my head,
I see the cloud that poureth rain so meet. (4)

From the phrase 'Nāzuk-Dilān' (tender-hearted ones) nothing can be inferred but women, as in the Humā-u-Humāyun, page 85, he uses "Nāzuk dil" for Shamsa's heart, a lady who fell in love with Humā, and the Prince depicts her love in these words:-

If now your tender heart's in love with me,
Your game is in my own captivity. (5)

Among women, no one bears the shock of a man's separation more than his wife, daughter, or sister. As Khwājū refers to the fair sex also in the above couplet it can be surmised that he might have had a daughter as well, to whom his thought went in sickness in a distant land. Because affection and love of a father for his sons and daughters awaken more in danger than at any other time. He forgets himself then and thinks of their good, as he says by way of advice in the same poem to his son:

My son, that you be not in a strange land,
With kindness you the stranger must e'er greet. (6)

(1) بادالونم نسیم بوستان - و آب رود آدر شراب خوشوار Fol. 6B دیوان خواجو

(2) Name of a river. Persian-English Dictionary, p. 592. (3) Muzat al-Qulub, p. 181.

(4) بر سر از نازک دلان میربان - ابر را بنیم که باشد اشک بار Fol. 6B دیوان خواجو

(5) دل نازکت گر کنون صید ماست - شکاری گرفتی که در قید ماست

(6) تا به غربت در خانی ۱۷ میر - بر غریبان رحمت آور زینهار Fol. 6B دیوان خواجو

These good counsels of Khwājū to his own son produced such a salutary effect upon the mind of the latter poets that 'Abdul Rahmān Jāmī - the Midas of Persian Literature - wrote a piece of advice to his own son in the 'Tuñ-fa-tul-Ahrār', in imitation of our poet. Jāmī says to his son as follows:-

Of all the arts this knowledge is the crown,
It unlocketh the portals of renown;
Gird up your loins in its search alway,
And give up all pursuits, to you I say. (1)

(۱) تاج سر جلمه بنیر با ست علم - قفل کشا پیله در با ست علم
در قلم علم مکر چیست کن - دست ز اشغال دیگر مست کن
تحفته الاحرار جلد ۱۰ ص ۱۰۴ - مطبع بنده ماترم لاہور ۱۹۳۱ء

All the previous biographers of Khwājū are quite silent about the message which he brought for the world. To the people at large he gives information of two powers at work - Reason and Love. He rejects Reason and embraces Love, as he says:-

Pray turn your face towards the wall of Love,
For Reason, like the Sun, is on the wall. (1)

In other words, he considers love to be perfect in its essence and Reason defective due to its changing condition like the Sun on the wall. He reads the message of Love to us in the same way, as Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī plays upon its very harp in the Maṣnavī-Vol. I, page 5, as follows:

O love our fancy good be glad at heart!
For all our ailments thou a doctor art;
Thou art our pride's and honour's remedy,
Thou art our Plato and Galen rightly;
The earthly frame thro' thee rose to the sky,
The mountains clever grew and rose on high;
O lover, Love is Sinai's soul, withal.
The Mount in rapture was, Moses did fall. (2)

Avoiding the mystic treatment of the subject under discussion, Khwājū denounces Reason practically in these words of his own:-

Love conquers Reason, the old
Yield to the young, so it is told. (3)

The old in age yield to the young in life in a match of power. To bear the palm of victory, he announces Love as his mission in life. Taking an economic view of life, he affirms:-

On wisdom's path a coin is Love,
The blessed have it from above. (4)

Wealth is the motive force of society. He declares it his mission to invite everybody's attention and win everybody's favour, as wealth is the favourite of both the king and clown.

Further, to engage the attention of all the universe he affirms more directly:-

My mind is quick like the wick thro' Love's flame,
Or like the dead, how can I sit at home? (5)

(3) خرد با عشق بر نایب که میراں - ز بول آئینہ بردست جوانان Folk. 152 B دیوان خواجو	(1) رو بپیرا عشق کن کہ خرد - آفتابست بر سر دیوار Folk. 3 A دیوان خواجو
(4) عشق در راه عقل دنیا راست - نیک بخت آنکہ باشدش دینار Folk. 3 A دیوان خواجو	(2) شاد باش اے عشق سبوتاں ما - اے طیب جملہ علت ہائے ما اے دولے نخت و ناموس ما - اے تو املاطوں و جالینوس ما
(5) آتش عشقش دلم را زغصے دارد چو شمع ورنہ زنیساں مردہ دل در خانہ نتوانم نشست Folk. 219 A دیوان خواجو	جسم خاک از عشق بر غلاک شد - کوہ در رقص آمد و چلاک شد عشق جاں طور آمد عاشقا - طورست و خر موسے صغقا
	مثنوی معنوی مولانا روم ص ۵۵ طبع منشی نوٹلشور ۱۸۸۸ء

In the above couplets, does he not proclaim that Love is life? He does not love to live but he lives to love, as Love is an essentiality according to his own words:

If you're the master of your heart, entrust it to a friend,
For he who hath not any friend a low man I think him. (1)

Although he hugs Love very closely, yet he does not woo a lady in love. To make his position quite clear, he says:

Don't look at nature for from sweethearts dear,
The aim, in real, is union of the soul;
Don't veil your face from Khwājū, for he has
The study of God's secret arts his goal. (2)

Still again, in spite of his mentioning liquor in his poetry as an artist, he is not addicted to it like an ordinary lover, as he himself says:

O cup-bearer the kingly cup give me,
My heart derives from it delight and glee;
By liquor I mean the eternal wine
Which is 'unconsciousness', an aim of mine. (3)

Showing his record clean in the eyes of the public, he stands on a high pulpit and declares with the blow of a trumpet:

I am the Phoenix of the Caucasus of Love. Your love
Is, as it were, a bird that hath the two worlds 'neath its wings. (4)

In order to undergo the ordeal of Love, he courts sorrow, pain, and tears, as he himself indicates:

Invite the blow, O Khwājū, for on principle the lyre
Is then in harmony, whene'er it doth receive a blow. (5)

And in this ordeal he derives pleasure in pain and finds joy in grief, or rather he revels in tears:

They afterwards will cross this town over the boat,
If the tears of my eye are flowing in this way. (6)

In his mission, Khwājū is never damped in spirits. He never dreams of disgust in life, but rather he sings thus quite happily and enjoys his mission:-

You must not think that Khwājū will leave you,
'Tis not my duty to get tired of life. (7)

Again, at another time, he says:

(۱) عشق و محبت تو دنیا - مرغیست هر دو کون بر آرد زیر پر Fol. 181 A دیوان خواجو	(۱) ای دل ارباب خوش داری رو به دلدار سپار - کاند دلدار ز در دراز دل Fol. 158 A دیوان خواجو
(۲) ضرب را خواجو زان دامن بکشد - آن زمان بر ساز می آید که او را می نواز Fol. 50 B دیوان خواجو	(۲) نظر به عین طبیعت مکن که از خواب - مرا و اصل نظر اتصال روحانیت Fol. 196 A دیوان خواجو
(۳) من به از این دیار بکشتی گذر کنم - مارا اگر آب دیده بماند در این نسق Fol. 234 B دیوان خواجو	(۳) به ساقی آن خسروانی قیج - که دل را بیغیر آید از وسع فرح Fol. 92 A دیوان خواجو
(۴) گمان مبر تو که خواجو زیار بر برد - که از ضیاء ملول آمدن نه کار Fol. 92 A دیوان خواجو	(۴) ز اد از قیج باده سرمدی است - و زان باده مقصود ما به خودی است با و بیاویں ص ۲۲

Although the lover's hue is like to saffron due to grief,
We have derived all pleasure yet from the hue of saffron. (1)

and derives his mirth from Love in contrast with those lovers who become pale and dejected in this trial.

In spite of all this, he does not exalt his mission unduly. To do his duty and achieve his end, he endures all quite silently and happily. He says:

Pain doth possess a taste that's not found in its remedy, (2)
Give up the means of remedy, if you desire that taste.

Not being contented with this, he hints about his enormous pain at another time:-

Tho' the pen's tongue discourse to you for a full hundred years,
One bit of the grief of your love it can't explain to you. (3)

What is beyond the power of the pen within one hundred years, he bears quite silently, as he says:-

If like the pen his head is torn up to his breast,
A lover is not he who speaketh e'en a word. (4)

Passing through all these stages of ordeal, he entertains no fear of death even. He is ready to sacrifice his life for his mission of Love, as he says:-

Like to the pen on Khwājū's head they place the sharp-edged sword,
Yet he will never turn his head from the order of love. (5)

To reach his goal, he lays his life on the altar of Love and rises alive for ever victorious and triumphant. How pathetically does he portray the last scene!

As long as Khwājū was not killed in the grief of your love,
He in your love's field could not bear the palm of victory. (6)

Furthermore, he reiterates the same idea in a manner which is more touching than before:-

In thanks, O heart, give up your life, because to Khwājū they
Have granted now his life's aim from that sweet life-giving lip. (7)

He fulfils the mission of his life most successfully. What is the

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|-----------------------|---|
| Fol. 138A دیوان خواجو | (1) گرچه رنگِ عاشقان از غم شود چو زعفران - ماهم شادی ز رنگِ زعفرانی یافتیم |
| Fol. 180B دیوان خواجو | (2) درد را چاشنی نیست که در ما را نیست - گر تو آبِ مے طلبی ما به در ما در باز |
| Fol. 188B دیوان خواجو | (3) با تو صد سال زبانِ قلم از شرحِ دیه - شمه از غمِ عشق تو بیاں نتوان کرد |
| Fol. 160B دیوان خواجو | (4) اگر چو خامه سرش تابینه بشکافتند - نه عاشق است که یک حرف بر زبان آورد |
| Fol. 111A دیوان خواجو | (5) گرچه قلم تیغ نیز بر سر خواجو نهند - سر نتواند کشید از سر فرمانِ عشق |
| Fol. 196B دیوان خواجو | (6) تا کشته نشد در غم سوداے تو خواجو - در مو که عشق تو پیروز نیامد |
| Fol. 105B دیوان خواجو | (7) جان بشکرا نه ده دل که کنون خواجو را - کام دل زان لبِ جان پرورِ شیرین داده اند |

decision of Nature about him? In response to this, Plato says in the Apology with regard to the poets, "They are like diviners or soothsayers"; so Khwājū wrote about himself in a prophetic strain. (1)

Although this decision was unknown to him, yet Nature has proved it to be true after so many centuries to our poet's immortal prestige and everlasting honour, as he says:-

The day when Khwājū will not be, due to your deep love's grief,
The secrets of his sorrow will remain on the world's sheets. (2)

He passed away, indeed, but he left an indelible effect upon the mind of posterity. His mission taught Love and Love in the words of Coleridge is described as follows:-

All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs the mortal frame,
All are ministers of Love,
And feed his sacred flame. (3)

Love was an impulse to him from inside. He endured all for Love. Love taught him self-restraint. Love directed him to make sacrifices for the common weal. His sacrifice produced harmony. Had he not yielded, there would have been a contest. Contest in Love is due to hatred, which is vice; but submission in Love is virtue, which is bliss. Virtue produces harmony and harmony begets happiness. He was happy, as he says there is no tyranny in Love:-

Our love-making a mistake cannot be,
Love's cleverness is never tyranny. (4)

Placing this view of life before, he did right to win the inner bliss and set a moral of righteousness for others to follow. Long live our Khwājū and long live his instructive mission!

The Dialogues of Plato, p. 114. (1)

(2) روزی که نمائند غم عشق تو خواجه - اسرار غمش بر درون دیر بماند Fol. 99 A 2 بران خواجه

The Poetical works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, p. 135. (3)
Edited by James Dyer Campbell,
Macmillan & Co, Ltd, London, 1912

(4) زما عشق باری نباشد خطا - و زو ترک تازی نباشد جفا
۷۴ دیوان ص ۱۴۲ سطر آخری

Early Attempts. We have already decided that Khwājū attempted poetry at the very outset of his life. He composed short lyrical poems in the beginning as is quite natural and easy for a budding poet to do. He enjoyed them and the people appreciated them too. But he could not find them a source of income in order to support himself and his family.

Neither was he like Oliver Goldsmith who "rambled on foot through Flanders, France and Switzerland, playing tunes which everywhere set the peasantry dancing, and which often procured for him a supper and a bed", (1) nor was he like Rudagī who "was not only a graceful poet but a sweet singer, and withal skilful in the use of the harp and lute," (2) so that he might earn his livelihood in this manner.

Panegyrics. In imitation of the other poets of his age, he looked after the royal donations for a means of sustenance. Though a great poet of the eminent position of Amīr Khusrau of Delhi denounces Kasīda-writing in the following lines:-

For my wilful identity
I stand up 'fore a man like me;.....
In falsity his praise I write,
None can excuse me of this slight. (3)

yet Khwājū began to write panegyrics as well.

How can it be entertained to be correct? All his biographers agree unanimously in writing so. If we hesitate to accept their statements, then Khwājū stands up himself as a witness to bear evidence to their remarks as can be seen from an alphabetical list of all the Kasīdās from the Rotos, Accession no. 1768, of the Dīvān-1-Khwājū in the British Museum available from the Panjab University Library, Lahore:-

Letters	Number of Kasidas	Couplets.
الف	3	85
ب	2	117
پ	3	117
ت	1 (elegy)	42
ث	1	30
ج	8	301
چ	7	434
ح	1	62
خ	1	21
د	12	349
ذ	7	317
ر	1	35
ز	1	30 = 1950

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Edition, Vol. 10, p. 495. (1)

A Literary History of Persia, by Edward G. Browne, (2)
Vol. I, p. 456.

ر(3) باشم ز برائے نفس خود راے - بیش چو خود ستاده برپا
مدش ز دروغ بر تراشم - موز در دین چکو نه باشم تذکرۃ الشعراء ص ۱۵۸

His Patrons. Although all his biographers assert that he wrote *Kasīdās*, yet they do not throw light upon his patrons except the author of the *Majma'-ul-Fuṣaḥā* who says, "He (Khwājū) has a complete *Dīvān* consisting of Arabic and Persian panegyrics, the romantic works, the odes.... He was the court poet of Abu Sa'īd Khān Chingīzī and wrote eulogies of him for many years"(1), and the author of the *Āṣār-i-Ājam* who says, "In the beginning of his life, he was engaged to an appointment and he praised Abu Sa'īd Khān Chingīzī... His *Dīvān* has been studied.. It contains Arabic and Persian panegyrics, odes, and romantic works."(2)

Professor Browne similarly touches on his patrons. He says, "He (Khwājū) began his poetical career by attaching himself to the court of the Muzaffarī princes, probably Mubārīz ud-Dīn Muḥammad, the founder of that dynasty, at Yazd. Later, he frequented the court of Shaykh Abū Ishāq (reigned 742-754/1341 - 1353) at Shīrāz";(3) and so Dr Rieu writes "According to the *Tārīkh-i-Ja'farī*, quoted in the *Lubb-ut-Tavārīkh*, Add. 23,512, Fol.118, he began his poetical career as a panegyrist of the Muzaffarīs, but having left them, in consequence of some slight, he repaired to the court of Amīr Shaikh Abu Ishāq (who ruled in Shīrāz from A.H.742 to 754) in whose praise he composed many poems, and died there A.H.753." (4)

Criticism. Taking up the statements of the authors of the *Majma'-ul-Fuṣaḥā* and the *Āṣār-i-Ājam*, we know Khwājū as the court poet of Abu Sa'īd Khān at Baghdād. Placing the remarks of Prof. Browne and Dr Rieu before us, we know that he began his poetical career in the Muzaffarīd dynasty and then he was in the court of Abu Ishāq at Shīrāz.

Scrutinizing the remarks of the authors of the *Majma'-ul-Fuṣaḥā* and the *Āṣār-i-Ājam*, we understand that the statements are incomplete: firstly, on the ground of their omitting the career of Khwājū in the court of the Muzaffarīds, as he himself composed a panegyric on the occasion of the construction of a bath-room and addressed it to Mubārīz-ud-Dīn in 715 A.H./1315 A.D.

- (1) دیوان کا مل تمامی دارد شتلمبر قصائد عربی و عجمی و مثنویات و غزلیات مداح سلطان ابوسعید خاں چنگیزی
بوده و سایر ادرا متداتی مے نمود - مجمع الفصحا ص ۱۵
- (2) در ادواتل حال بشغل استیفا اشتغال داشت و مداح سلطان ابوسعید خاں چنگیزی بوده دیوانش
شده شتلمبر قصائد عربی و عجمی و مثنویات و غزلیات - دیباچه ہما و ہمایوں اقتباس آثار عجم ص ۳

(3) *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion* page. 225.
Catalogue of Persian MSS in the British Museum vol. II, p. 620. (4)

44

The sky in seven hundred, four and five and six
By God's grace like the Moon did bring it to an end. (1)

earlier than the days of the patronage of Abu Sā'īd Khān Chingīzī who ascended the throne in 716 A.H. 1316 A.D. Secondly, on the basis of their ignoring the life of Khwājū as a Kāsida-writer after the death of Abu Sā'īd Khān.

Now, let us take up the statements of the two Orientalists of world wide renown. We cannot help but quote the evidence of Khwājū himself to show that a gap has been left by our learned scholars between the beginning and the end of Khwājū's panegyrical career, as he supports our remark himself in the following verses:-

All hail like ambergris that morning breeze
Still passeth o'er Kirmān my mind to please;
.....
Why should I make Baghdād my dwelling-place
My eyes do naught but here the Tigris trace? (2)

The above lines refer to his stay at Baghdād where he praised Abu Sā'īd Khān as is evident in the prologue of the Humā-u-Humāyūn

The Moon of the Īlkhān's sky - bu Sā'īd
Whose sword the neck-vein's tumbler is, indeed! (3)

and also to his return to Kirmān, his birth-place, for which he longed so impatiently.

After this period, he attended no doubt the court of Amīr Abū Ishāk at Shīrāz in the last stage of his life, as he adorned the court of the Muzaffarīds at Yazd in the beginning of his life. In order to give a clear and complete sketch of his panegyrical career, we divide this period into four parts:-

- (1) His stay at Yazd.
- (2) His residence at Baghdād.
- (3) His return to Kirmān.
- (4) His life at Shīrāz.

1. His stay at Yazd.

On the perusal of Khwājū's Divān, we come across a couplet:

The time of spring and season of the roses has arrived,
All hail! The breeze of Ahrīstān and the suburbs of Yazd. (4)

Hereby, without quoting, like his biographers, the authority of other authors that Khwājū was at Yazd, we know distinctly on his own evidence

(1) چرخ بسال هفت صد و چار و پنج و شش چون مه تمام کرد (بکبر خدایگان Fol. 28 A دیوان خواجو)
(2) خوشا باد و عنبر نسیم سحر - که بر خاک کرمانش بماند گذر

زمن تازیه آمد که فرخ بلند - از آن خاک پاکم بفرست فلند تذکره الشعراء ص 145
(3) مه مطلع اینحال بوسه - حسامش کن باز جل الورید ص 15 پیاد و پیالین

(4) کنون که فصل بهار آمد و موسم گل - خوشا تو ای یزد و نسیم اهرستان Fol. 201 A دیوان خواجو
S Ahrīstān, Name of a province adjacent to Yazd, A 126 Persian-English Dictionary, F. Steingass

that he was at Yazd and he enjoyed its scenery all round.

We have already quoted Prof. Browne above who says, "He (Khwājū) began his poetical career by attaching himself to the court of one of the Muzaffarī princes, probably Mubārīz ud-Dīn, ^{Muhammad} the founder of that dynasty, at Yazd." (1) But it is evident on the authority of Khwājū himself that he began his poetical career by attaching himself to Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the father of Mubārīz-ud-Dīn.

Firstly, to prove this statement of ours, we quote Prof. Browne again to show that Jalāl-ud-Dīn was the father of Mubārīz-ud-Dīn and the quotation runs as follows. "The third son (of Amīr Giyāth ud-Dīn Hājji Khurāsānī) Jalāl ud-Dīn Manṣūr, lived at Maybud, near Yazd, and likewise left three sons, Sharaf ud-Dīn Muzaffar, Zayn ud-Dīn Alī, and Mubārīz ud-Dīn Muḥammad.... He died in 713/1313, leaving to succeed him his son Mubārīz ud-Dīn Muḥammad, then only thirteen years of age, who was confirmed in his father's offices by Uljāytū (died Dec. 16, 1316⁽²⁾). Secondly, we have on record a eulogy of Khwājū in praise of Jalāl-ud-Dīn which runs as follows:- (3) آن چیت عکس بیدی ز تیرین آسمان - یا برقی تیغ خسرو کیمبر و آستان
The above couplet is the first of the eulogy and the name of Jalāl-ud-Dīn runs therein as follows:-

(4) اعظم جلال دنیا و دین آنگه از علو - شد پای مال بهمت او فرقی فرقدان

This evidence of Khwājū himself stands as an unimpeachable proof of his being, at first, in the court of Jalāl-ud-Dīn and then, at the death of this ruler in 713/1313, he remained with Muzaffarid-ud-Dīn, no doubt, till ^{1315 A.D.} 715 A.H., as Khwājū himself wrote a eulogy in the praise of Mubārīz-ud-Dīn on the construction of a bath-room in 715 A.H. referred to above already. To be very particular about it, we know that the first couplet of the same eulogy begins with

(5) اے پیکر منور بحر و خور و چکان - ثعبان دم آتش رخ روینا استخوان

and the couplet referring to the completion of the bath-room is given below:

(6) چرخت بسال سفید و چار و پنج و شش - چون مه تمام کرد بجزایگان

and the name of the patron runs as follows:-

(7) صاحب قرآن مبارز دین صفدر نجم - شاه ملک نشان و امیر ملک نشان

Asian Literature under Tarlar Dominion by Prof. Browne, p. 225. (1)
Asian Literature under Tarlar Dominion by Prof. Browne
pp. 162-63. (2)

Fol. 21 A دیوان خواجہ (3)

Fol. 21 B دیوان خواجہ (4)

Fol. 27 B دیوان خواجہ (5)

Fol. 28 A دیوان خواجہ (6)

Fol. 28 A دیوان خواجہ (7)

and the name of the Premier is mentioned so:-

(1)

زبده دوران غیاث الدین کبیر - آندک گوید سزد کز بهفت کشور برترم
On the authority of these instances reproduced in the words of

Khwājū, we are quite correct to assert that our poet was at Baghdād till 732 A.H. the year of the completion of the Humā-u-Humāyūn. He says himself:-

When I completed the book for my fame,
With omens auspicious to which I claim;
I offer it to him who likes it well,
Its chronogram is "bazi"; that's all, I tell. (2)

After this year, there is the evidence of Khwājū himself to show his departure from Baghdād. He says:

What did I do, the sky that high doth stand
From that pure earth cast me in a strange land?
Why should I make Baghdād my dwelling-place,
My eyes do naught but here the Tigris trace? (3)

These lines portray the deep longings for his birthplace quite vividly and remove every doubt about his return to Kirmān. Before we take up the third stage of his life, we should like to refer to an interesting fact which has not been touched on by any author, oriental or occidental, as yet.

Prof. Brownesays on the authority of the Majmā'-ul-Fuṣaḥā that "Khwājū was the panegyrist of Sultān Abū Sā'īd Khān, who reigned from 716-736/1316-1335." (4) Dr Rieu writes, "Abu Sā'īd died on the 13th of Rabī' II, A.H. 736, and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn was put to death in Ramaẓān of the same year." (5) It is quite clear from the above quotations that Abu-Sā'īd Khān died in 736 A.H.

Anachronism. Now, let us turn our attention to Khwājū who completed the Humā-u-Humāyūn in the name of Shams-ud-Dīn on the evidence of the following couplet:-

(6) Moreover, reading his praise in the couplet immediately next to it:

خدیو جهان آصف جم نشین - جهان کرم شمس دنیا و دین
سرافراز محمود صائیں کہ بہت - سپہر سرافگندہ اش زبردست
The exalted Maḥmūd Sāin so grave
Hath the crestfallen sky to him a slave. (7)

the question arises, why did Khwājū finish the book in his (Shams-ud-Dīn's) name, while he began it in the name of Abu Sā'īd Khān as already mentioned above? In response to this, Khwājū says himself in the following verses:-

The star of his domain thereon sank down,
And his life's days themselves began to drown;
When Solomon the second took his flag,
His howdah to the next world did they drag;
The Āṣaf of his time died in his rear,
The seal without Solomon's worthless here. (8)

بال پهایوں تمام

میدرخ این نامه بذل استو بس

پهاو پهایوں ص ۲۸۶

په آعد که چی خبلند - از ااا اشیانم درینجا قلند

به بغداد بهر چه سازم وطن - که نایه بحر دجله در چشم من

پهاو پهایوں ص ۲۸۳

Persian literature under
Tartar domination, p. 222.

(4)

(6) پهاو پهایوں ص ۲۹۲

(7) پهاو پهایوں ص ۲۹۲

(8) فتاد آخر دوش درو بال - برو

چون جیشیه ثانی برون زد علم - روا

برفت از عقب آصف روزگار - که

۲۸۶ ص ۱۹۵

2. His Residence At Baghdād.

We know already that Khwājū was born in 679 A.H., so in the court of Mubārīz-ud-Dīn in 715 A.H., he had reached the 36th year of his age. In order to trace his residence at Baghdād, we find some couplets in the Humā-u-Humāyūn as follows:-

The world had dark grown like to the black sea,
My two eyes counted the stars anxiously;
In the West's jail, the Sun a prisoner fell
Like to Bezhan in Afrāsiyāb's cell;
Due to the sky that had revolved so fast,
Of my life then had thirty years been past;
Sense left my mind, and sleep my eyes, as well,
Tears from my eyes like to the hailstorm fell.

In the above couplets, probably, either Khwājū left the odd numbers six and versified the round number of thirty years only, or, possibly he had a retrospective idea of mentioning the cause of composing the Humā-u-Humāyūn, while he conceived its thought during his stay at Yazd. At any rate, he came to Baghdād immediately on the ascension of Abū Sā'id Khān to the throne in 716 A.H. after writing a eulogy in 715 A.H. on the occasion of the construction of the bath-room to Mubārīz-ud-Dīn.

Now, to bear evidence to the fact of his residence at Baghdād we quote Khwājū himself to prove our statement on the authority of the Humā-u-Humāyūn wherein he wrote praise of Abu Sā'id Khān as follows:-

(2)

مر مطلق اینهاں بوسید - حسامش برین باز جیل الوریہ

The minister of Abu Sā'id Khān, named Ghiāṣ-ud-Dīn is praised as follows in the same works:-

(3)

سری السرا یا مغیت الملل - ظہیر الزایا غیاث الدول
محمد بفعل و بحرف و باہم - مظہر بذات و بجان و جسم

Furthermore, we have poems among the Kaṣīdās in praise of Sultān Abu-Sā'id Khān and his minister Ghiāṣ-ud-Dīn. Firstly, let us prove our statement in the case of Abu Sā'id Khān. The eulogy begins thus

(4)

زین سفینہ ڈھلن عنہ علم الکتاب - کاب جیوان است پیش بحر ادا از فحلت آب

and the name of the monarch is mentioned thus:-

(5)

سایہ یزدان علاء الدین و دنیا بوسید - خان کرب مرتبت فاقان اسکندر جناب

Secondly, we quote the couplets for Ghiāṣ-us-Dīn the Premier. The poem begins in this manner:

(6)

دوش چوں شاه جشن بیرون فرامیدہ از حرم - راستی را چو سرو از در طالعہ دلبرم

(3) ہما و ہمایوں ص ۱۸

(۱) شدہ تیرہ عالم چو دریائے قار - دوشتم من گشتہ اختر شمار

(4) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 8A در اصل "کاب جیوان است پیش بحر ادا از فحلت آب" است

بزنند ان مغرب اسیر آفتاب - چو بہترین بزنند ان افراسیاب

(5) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 8B

کہ انوں ز دور چہری کہ گشت - سہ دہ سال از عمر من در گذشت

(6) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 9A

برفت از دلم ہوش و از دیدہ خواب - نہ ششم بہارید چوں ز الہ آب

ہما و ہمایوں ص ۳۳

(2) ہما و ہمایوں ص ۱۵

and the name of the Premier is mentioned so:-

(1)

زبدۂ دواں فیما بین کیف الخافقین - آندگر گوید سزدکن بہفت کشور برترم
On the authority of these instances reproduced in the words of

Khawājū, we are quite correct to assert that our poet was at Baghdād till 732 A.H. the year of the completion of the *Humā-u-Humāyūn*. He says himself:-

When I completed the book for my fame,
With omens auspicious to which I claim;
I offer it to him who likes it well,
Its chronogram is "bazl"; that's all, I tell. (2)

After this year, there is the evidence of Khawājū himself to show his departure from Baghdād. He says:

What did I do, the sky that high doth stand
From that pure earth cast me in a strange land?
Why should I make Baghdād my dwelling-place,
My eyes do naught but here the Tigris trace? (3)

These lines portray the deep longings for his birthplace quite vividly and remove every doubt about his return to Kirmān. Before we take up the third stage of his life, we should like to refer to an interesting fact which has not been touched on by any author, oriental or occidental, as yet.

Prof. Brownesays on the authority of the *Majmā' -ul-Fuṣāḥā* that "Khawājū was the panegyrist of Sultān Abū Sā'īd Khān, who reigned from 716-736/1316-1335." (4) Dr Rieu writes, "Abu Sā'īd died on the 13th of Rabī' II, A.H. 736, and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn was put to death in Rama-ṣān of the same year." (5) It is quite clear from the above quotations that Abu Sā'īd Khān died in 736 A.H.

Anachronism. Now, let us turn our attention to Khawājū who completed the *Humā-u-Humāyūn* in the name of Shams-ud-Dīn on the evidence of the following couplet:-

(6)

خدیو جہاں آصف جم نشین - جہاں کرم شمس دنیا و دین
Moreover, reading his praise in the couplet immediately next to it:

سرافراز محمود صائن کہ بہت - سپہر سرافگندہ اش زبردست
The exalted Mahmūd Sāin so grave
Hath the crestfallen sky to him a slave. (7)

the question arises, why did Khawājū finish the book in his (Shams-ud-Dīn's) name, while he began it in the name of Abu Sā'īd Khān as already mentioned above? In response to this, Khawājū says himself in the following verses:-

The star of his domain thereon sank down,
And his life's days themselves began to drown;
When Solomon the second took his flag,
His howdah to the next world did they drag;
The Āṣaf of his time died in his rear,
The seal without Solomon's worthless here. (8)

In the above couplets 'Solomon' and 'his' (line 5) refer to Abu Sā'īd Khān and Āṣaf to Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn. Therein Khwājū means to say that both of them, Abu Sā'īd Khān and Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn died before the completion of the Humā-u-Humāyūn. In those hours of dejection, there was a ray of hope; for Tāj-ud-Dīn Īrākī introduced him to Shams-ud-Dīn, as he says:-

A chief of Saturn's rank now after years,
The realm's crown, Tāj-ud-Dīn, the head of peers,
A good man of Īrāk (through him for fame
The title's known; as title through the name).....
Came in that court so very happily
And kissed the throne-seat like prosperity;
He then remember'd me in that court there
And to allude to this tale he did dare. (1)

Shams-ud-Dīn received Khwājū with royal gifts. Khwājū in return completed Humā-u-Humāyūn in the name of Shams-ud-Dīn in 732 A.H. with the chronogram of 'bazl' (732) as already mentioned above.

Under these conditions, how is it possible for us to say that Abu-Sā'īd Khān died in 736 A.H. in contrast to the verses of Khwājū which clearly indicate that Abu Sā'īd Khān died before or in 732 A.H., the year of the completion of this work? Paying due deference to these learned scholars, we can call this difference of date an anachronism pure and simple.

Criticism. Let us trace the sources for the death of Abu Sā'īd Khān. We read from the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, Vol. XIV, II, Page 2, translated by Prof. Brown⁽²⁾, "This compendium is entitled Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah (the Select History), and was completed in A.H. 730". In this case, it cannot deal with the events of 732 A.H.

There is a note in the supplementary chapter of the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, page 156, to the effect that "on the death of Abu Sā'īd in 736 A.H. (1335-6) chaos ensued." But this note has been written by ⁽³⁾ "Mū'īn-ud-Dīn of Yazd, who was made professor at one of the Colleges of Kirmān in 755/1354", and inserted in the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah by ⁽⁴⁾ "a certain Maḥmūd Kutbī, while engaged in transcribing the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah in 823/1420." Setting aside Maḥmūd Kutbī who lived nearly 81 years after the death of Abu Sā'īd Khān, Khwājū is, in every way, more reliable than Mū'īn-ud-Dīn of Yazd, because the former was the Court-poet of Abu Sā'īd Khān at Baghdād and the latter far away from that place.

Similarly, Ghiyāṣ ul-Dīn ibn Humām ul-Dīn (Khvānd Amīr), the

(1) پس از مدتی قطب کیوانی مغل - سرکشان تیاج دین دودل
همایون بزرگ عزتی نسب - لقب نامی از وی چون نام از لقب
بجزیم زمین بوی خواجهان عید - ز کمرمان به اردو روان گردید

author of the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* writes, "In 736 A.H. Sultān Abu Sā'īd Khān migrated to the vale of Paradise", but "the *Ḥabīb-us-Siyar* ... was not written until 929/1523", as are the words of Prof. Browne. In contrast to this date of composition, our poet wrote the *Humā-u-Humāyūn* in 732 A.H., and versified the death of Abu Sā'īd Khān therein as he was an eye-witness of the event that proved fatal to the Ilkhānī Dynasty in Persia. It follows, then, quite obviously on the internal evidence of Khwājū, who is more reliable than any other authority, that Abu Sā'īd Khān died in 732 A.H.

3. His Return to Kirmān. On the death of Abu Sā'īd Khān, Khwājū was disgusted with Baghdād, and he longed for Kirmān. He says as follows:-

All hail like ambergris that morning breeze,
Still passeth o'er Kirmān the mind to please;....
Why should I make Baghdād my dwelling place,
My eyes do naught but here the Tigris trace? (3)

It is an evident truth from the above couplets that he left Baghdād and made up his mind to return to Kirmān. Before his arrival at Kirmān, he travelled about and visited various places. He himself bears evidence to this fact in the following couplets:-

From the Hījāz when the sky did drive me,
I reached Irāk through evil times that be;
Like a breeze in spring I the forlorn
Did roam at night and early rise at morn;
From Irān to Arabia went I;
And from Arabia Irān did try. (4)

During these wanderings, he saw many courts and visited many cities on the evidence of the following lines referring to his patrons among the *Kāṣīdās*:- (5)

برآند آن مع خورشید منظر از خرگاه - کثوده بنیر بغلطاق و کشر بناده کلاه

The above couplet is in the beginning of the *Kāṣīdā* for Nizām-ud-Dīn Kai-Kubād of Hurmuz. The name of this patron is given in the couplet below:-

نظام دولت و دین کیقباد کسری فر - من پیر معانی پیر فضل و هنر
Again, our poet begins the praise of Jamāl-ud-Dīn Daylamī of Isfahān with the following couplets:-

بسته شکریت آنچه تو داری نه دهم - شکر عسکریست آنچه تو باری نه سخن
(7)

- | | |
|---|--|
| (1) و در شکریت که سلطان ابو سعید بهادر خاں برافش برافش | (4) چون ملک از راه تجازم براند - دور مخالف برافش برافش |
| استقال کرده | بود مرا همچو نسیم بهار - هرزه روی در شب و شبگیر کار |
| من به اجزد دوم از طبع سوختم | که ز عرب سوسه عجم تاخس - که بعجم ساز عرب سافش |
| Persian Literature under Tarla's Dominion, P. 430 | روسته الازار مصر طبع |
| (2) | (5) دیوان خواجو Fol. 39 A |
| (3) خوشباد عجز نسیم کمر - که بر خاک کرمافش باشد گذر | (6) دیوان خواجو Fol. 39 B |
| زمین تاجه آنه که خورشید بلند - از آن پایتکم بغیریت ننگد | (7) دیوان خواجو Fol. 41 A |
| تذکره اشخاص 145 | |

The name of this patron is given in the following couplet:-

(1) *تا هوادار جمال دول والدين نشوى - نشوى بار دگر نگهت گلزار جمال*
Still more, the following couplet is the beginning of the *Kaṣīda*

in the praise of Zain-ud-Dīn 'Alī Az Zīrbādi:-

(2) *اے کعبہ روئے جو مہبت قبلہ عالم - خالقت حجر الاسود و لب چشمه زمزم*
In the following couplet the name of this patron runs thus:-

(3) *زین الحق والدين شمع اقلیم معالی - انکو هست باجماع ائم اعلم و احکم*
After these travels, he pours forth his disgust of all these cities

which were like Baghdād and longs for Kirmān in a letter to his son after his recovery from sickness as can be seen from these verses:-

The dust of Āzarbaijān burns the soul
My friends, take heed of it I do entreat;
The tract of Tabrīz bringeth fever e'er,
O blessed ones! Beware of it, 'tis meet!
All hail Kirmān! A garden is its land!
The stream Mahān! therein that floweth sweet. (4)

In the long run, he settled at Kirmān. He was happy at heart to reach his home and see his family. At the disappearance of these dark days of travel he began to sing songs in praise of his admirers and preserve for posterity his well-earned experiences in the form of books. We discuss them year by year in the lines given below.

742 A.H. Khwājū eulogized Tāj-ud-Dīn 'Irākī as patron. This noble and rich man has been mentioned already with regard to his introducing our poet to Shams-ud-Dīn. Out of those eulogies which have been composed for this man, it will suffice to refer to one only:-

(5) *مژده مقدم مخدوم جہاں آوردند - خیر داور دوران زمان آوردند*
The *Kaṣīda* begins with the above couplet and the couplet which has the name given below:-

(6) *تاج دنیا دول صاحب اعظم کہ پیکر - گردن عجز بردار او بند از سر پیکر*
Not being contented with these eulogies, Khwājū during his stay at Kirmān dedicated the Gul-u-Navroz to Tāj-ud-Dīn in 742 A.H. on the authority of his own words:-

Six added twice to sev'n hundred, thirty.
This blessed verse came to an end with glee. (8)

He wrote "its epilogue in the name of Kutb-ul-Mashāikh Ibn Isḥāk bin Ibrāhīm Shahryār Kāzrūnī, and afterwards in the name of Shaikh-ul-Islām Amīn-ud-Dīn Kāzrūnī." (9)

(7) <i>زیر عقل پر سیم کہ با من - بگو این نکته پوشیده روشن</i>	(1) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 41 B
کہ بر این زمرہ از تاثیر افلاک - کرا باشد شرف در خطہ خاک	(2) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 29 B
جو اجم داد عقل مصلحت بین - کہ تاج الحق والدين والدين	(3) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 30 A
گل و زرد ز 18	(4) خاک آذربایجان آذربایجان - در زند اے دوستان الاعتبار
(8) <i>دو شمش بر سرفقصد و سگی گشت افزون</i>	خط تیریز جز تب خیز نیست - الحذر اے شیک بختاں الحذر
بیایاں آمد این نظم بہایاں سعید نفیسی	خاک کرمال جہاں آن گلستان - و آب مایاں خرمال آن بویار
(9) <i>سعید نفیسی ص لم لم خاتمہ ان نام قلب المشایخ ابن امیر</i>	(5) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 32 A
کاندہ نیست و پس اندان نام شیخ الاسلام حسین الدین	(6) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 33 A

It is surprising to remark that the Rotos of the manuscript of the British Museum, available in the Punjab University, distinctly show the epilogue of the Gul-u-Nauruz in the name of Tāj-ud-Dīn 'Irākī, as follows:

در آمد قاصدے اقبال نامش - شدہ از فرنی شادی غلامش
کہ میخواند ترا محمد و نم عالم - خدیو شہ نشان دستور اعظم
.....
عراقی نسبت نوروز روزی - ہمایوں طلعت کشور فیروز
.....
بہر یک قطرہ ام در دانه داد - بہر بیتیم بہای خانہ داد گل و نوروز
Fol. 117A.

Let alone these lines of the Gul-u-Nauruz according to Sa'id Nafīsī, we have on record among the Kasīdās, the panegyrical poems addressed to Kutb-ul-Mashāikh and Shaikh-ul-Islām Amīn-ud-Dīn Kāzrūnī also. The eulogy referring to the former begins thus:-

(1) زہے کہہ پرین متکائنہ بواحق - فراز کنگرہ عرش جائے بواحق
As regards the Shaikh-ul-Islām Amīn-ud-Dīn Kāzrūnī, he opens the Kasīdā thus:-

(2) دوش جاں را محرم اسرار برے یافتہ - لوح ہستی خالی از نفس ہیولا یافتہ
In the following couplet he refers to his name:-

(3) حجتہ الاسلام امین الحق والین کن جلال - پایہ اش برتر رفتہ طاق خضر یافتہ
743.A.H. With reference to this year, we have to say that Shams-ud-Dīn
1342.A.D. was eulogized in the prologue of the Rauza-tul-Anvār in the following words of the poet:-

(4) نقطہ پرکار زمان وزین - مطلع خورشید کرم شمس دین
This work was completed in his name, as he says:-
(5) شمس جلال دول و دین کہ بہت - از غنہ ہر شہ سوارہ مست
The year of the composition of this work is indicated by our poet in the following words:-

To mīm and zāl then jīm was added so,
The crescent shone shod like a shoe, you know. (6)

This is the very patron who has been mentioned above already. In addition to the above dedications, Khwājū wrote many excellent eulogies for Shams-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Sāin as well. Out of those panegyrics, one is referred to here. Here is its first couplet:-

(7) آلاے جہد جہن بر جہن متکین کند افکن - گرفتہ آفتاب جیب و ماہ و مشتری دامن
The couplet that refers to his name runs as follows:-
(8) پناہ ملک شمس الحق والین آن فلک رفت - کہ گرد و چشم بہفت اختر خاک در گیش روشن

(6) جیم زیادت شدہ بر سیم و ذال - و آردہ چون عین منفل لال

93A روضۃ الانوار

(7) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 13 B

(8) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 14 B

(1) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 46 A

(2) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 55 A

(3) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 56 A

(4) روضۃ الانوار طبرانی ص ۸

(5) روضۃ الانوار طبرانی ص 99

744 A.H. Furthermore, as to this year, we have to say that Khwājū
1343 A.D. praised Shaikh-Abū Ishāq of Kāzrūn in the prologue of the Kamāl Nāmah.

The couplet referring to his name runs thus:-

(1)

بادی راه دین علی الاطلاق - مرشد دین حق ابواسحاق

This work ended in the name of Shaikh Abu Ishāq, the king of Fars.

The following couplet refers to his name:-

(2)

باج گیر شهبان باسحقاق - تاج بخش جهان ابواسحاق

The book was completed in 744 A.H., as we know on the evidence of the poet himself:-
1343 A.D.

In seven hundred, forty-four was done
This work, like Āzar's picture-craft, anon. (3)

It is interesting to refer to this fact here that Khwājū composed this work in the shrine of Abū Ishāq, the saint, as he says:-

So to the court Divine, you find your way,
To the soul of the Shaikh for help e'er pray;.....
Perfect in every way, of faith the guide,
Abū Ishāq in whom Truth doth abide. (4)

In addition to this, he eulogized the saint in the Kāsidās. The opening couplets run thus:-

دوش بردم بهودج سمیت بصدر کبریا - برقی استغفار دم در خرم کبروریا
بر فراز سد ره دیم عالمی بے منتہا - بر کشیدہ بلبلان گلشن قدسی نوا
کامے بمعنی کردہ حق در ملک وحدت پادشا - مرشد الدین قدوة الاقطاب ابواسحاق

(5)

746 A.H. Last of all, in this year of his panegyrical career, he
1345 A.D. wrote the prologue of the Gauhar Nāmah in praise of Mubārīz-ud-Dīn, as he says:-

Mubārīz like Alexander in fight
Was victor, a brave and triumphant knight;
The king's the shelter of Ahmad's faith, eye;
Muhammad, of Ali's sword; Hāsan's trait. (6)

This work ended in the name of Bahā-ud-Dīn Mahmūd, a scion of Nizām-ul-Mulk of Tus, the Prime Minister of Seljukian fame. The couplet runs as follows:-

When my Ayāz's fate grew fortunate
I set its price and gave it to Mahmūd. (7)

In the above couplet, there is a pun on the word 'bahā', meaning price and abbreviation of Bahā-ud-Dīn.

The praise of Mubārīz-ud-Dīn in the prologue of the Gauhar Nāmah was

(5) دیوان خواجو Fol. 46 B

(1) کمال نامہ Fol. 60 A

(2) کمال نامہ Fol. 76 A

(3) شدتبارنج ہفصد و چیل و چار - کار این نقش آذری خوگار
Fol. 79 A کمال نامہ

(4) تا بالیوان قرب یابی راہ - مدد از روح شیخ مرشد خواہ

بادی راه دین علی الاطلاق - مرشد دین حق ابواسحاق

Fol. 60 A کمال نامہ

(6) مبارز آن سکندر ملک صفور - کہ فیروست و منصور و مظ
شہ غازی پناہ دین احمد - علی تیغ ضل سیرت محمد
ص ۱۲۰ اول و منتخب اشعار خواجو مصنف
(7) ایازم را چو طالع گشت مسود - بیائش کردم و دادم بمحود
ص ۵۸ سید نفیسی

due to the fall of Kirmān to him in 739/1340. As a poet of Kirmān, he perpetuated the victor's triumph by the production of this work in the year 746 A.H., as he says:-
1345 A.D.

The month of Tīr and half of it had past,
 From Hijrat zāl and vav and mīm ran fast. (1)

4. His Residence at Shīrāz. As has been already discussed above, we reach the last stage of our poet's panegyrical career. In 746 A.H.
1345 A.D. he left his birthplace Kirmān and went over to Shīrāz, because his previous patron Shams-ud-Dīn became, in 744 A.H., the Prime Minister of 1343 A.D.
Abū Ishāk, the ruler at Shīrāz, who ruled from 742 A.H. to 754 A.H.
1341 A.D. 1353 A.D. The Premier introduced him to the king. He sang there as he desired and received what he expected to his heart's content. It matters little if he dedicated the Kamāl Nāmah to this King in 744 A.H., written 1343 A.D. in the shrine as already hinted above. His residence at that shrine is evidence of his being not attached to any court then.

From the beginning of Humā-u-Humāyun, as he says:

In the West's jail, the Sun a prisoner fell
 Like to Bezhan in Afrāsiyāb's cell;
 Due to the sky that had revolved so fast
 Of my life then had thirty years been past, (2)

that is, from 709 A.H., the age of thirty years, up to 746 A.H. in his own words-
1309 A.D. 1345 A.D.

The month of Tīr and half of it had past,
 From Hijrat zāl and vav and mīm ran fast. (4)

when he was sixty-seven years old, Khwājū made a marvellous progress in poetical productions. His popularity shot up like a rocket. His fame spread far and wide. Wherever he went, honour kissed his feet. His wife sunned herself in his prosperity, as he maintained his rank and position as a court-poet quite successfully till his old age, unlike Rudagī, who "towards the end of his life... fell from favour and was overtaken by poverty". (5)

It shows up his good relations, excellent behaviour and scrupulous character; otherwise, he would have suffered at the hands of any ruler in the case of his visiting so many courts and showing disrespect to

(3) بزرگواران مغرب السیر آفتاب - چو بیشتر بزرگان افراسیاب
 که اکنون ز دور مهری که گشت - همه ده سال از عمر من در گذشت
 ص ۳۳ پادشاهان
 (4) مه تیر و زحمه یک نیم رفته - ز هجرت ذال و داو ویم رفته
 ص ۵۶ سیه نفیسی
 (5) *Literary History of Persia*,
 Vol. I, p. 456.
 by Prof. Browne.

(1) مه تیر و زماه یک نیم رفته - ز هجرت ذال و داو ویم رفته
 ص ۵۶ سیه نفیسی
 (2) در محرم الحرام سنه اربع و اربعین و سبع مائت... مولوی (شمس الدین)
 از جناب مبارکی التماس نمود که اورا برسم رسالت نزد شیخ ابواسحاق فرستد
 ... جناب مبارکی این التماس را بجز قبول اقرآن داده مولانا چون
 بمقتضای سیه امیر شیخ ابواسحاق در ازلت ملک خود را بشترکت
 تیغیاف الدین علی یزدی بوسه غرض گردانید - ص ۱۸ ج ۱ و دوم از جلد دوم
 حبیب السیر مطبع احمد کبیری

to any one at the cost of another just as Rashīd-ud-Dīn Vatvāt (1) was to suffer capital punishment at the hands of Sanjar through his partiality for Atsīz bin Sultān Muḥammad Khvārazm-shāh.

Indeed, he has been complaining of his calamities during his travels. But the truth of the matter is this, that all these terrors and tears were inevitable due to the chaotic period already mentioned above. The conquests of Mubārīz-ud-Dīn added fuel to the fire of havoc, so far so, that after the fall of Kirmān in 739 A.H./1340 A.D., he conquered Shīrāz in 1353 A.D. (8) as well. Shaikh Abū Ishāq fled, but ultimately he was defeated and put to the sword in 759 A.H./1357 A. by Mubārīz-ud-Dīn.

In these days of great political upheavals, while Persia was the hot-bed of warfare, and blood-shed, it was very difficult to live at rest even for a layman. How admirably it is to the credit of our poet that he won the favour of all the rulers without incurring the displeasure of any!

(1) تذکرۃ الشعراء ص ۵۵ رشید و قتلش بود در عهد زیت الملک ابن بیت در جواب رباعی الخوری نوشت و در عهد رشید و در عهد سیدان انطاکیه
کمر خشم تو ای شاه بودم کمر و یک خیز زینار ای تو ختم اندر بزم
سلیک و غایت از و طوایف و خشم مندر و کینه فرود اگر و طوایف بیت من افتد اورا
سازم... رشید بنار ای سلیک از گزند و رشید بنیان شد... حافظش کردند سلیک از خشم
گشتند... رشید از غایت رنج و رستاد... که و طوایف حقیقت است کینا و غرور و تضعیف
نمی توان کرد آنکه سلطان فرزند او را در پای کشته سلیک بخشد و بر میان خطیبان بزرگان و طوایف

Persian literature under the Tartar (2)
Dominion by Prof. Henry
p. 163.

Introduction.

A *Kāśīda* is a long poem. In it the first hemistich of the first couplet and the second hemistich of the same and every succeeding couplet are of the same rhyme and metre. "The minimum number of couplets is twenty-five (1) and the maximum, one hundred and seventy-five." It consists generally of a patron's praise at length.

The word *Kāśīda* literally means 'fat kernel' (2). *Kāśad* means to dedicate also. (3) Or *Kāśīda* is taken from *Kāśad* so far as to enable the poet to mention his aim therein. (4) At any rate, as the poet is bent upon writing a long poem for dedication to some one, hence it is called a *Kāśīda*. It is chiefly divided into two kinds:-

(a) *Tamhīdīya* (Introductory) (5) and (b) *Khītābīya* (Invocative)

The component parts of a *Kāśīda* are (i) *Tashbīb*, (ii) *Takhalluṣ* or *Gurez*, (iii) *Madh*, and (iv) *Du'ā*. *Mudda'ā* is incorporated in *Madh* (6).

i. *Tashbīb* is derived from the word 'shabāb' (youth). It is the introduction to a *Kāśīda* which deals with a lady, love, and liquor that appeal to youth ever and at the time of spring especially.

ii. *Takhalluṣ* or *Gurez* is the digression, whence the poet turns his attention from the introduction to the subject-matter of praise. It consists of one or two couplets.

iii. *Madh* is the main theme consisting of the praise of the patron.

iv. *Du'ā* is the last portion of the *Kāśīda* consisting of a prayer for the patron. It consists of two or more than two couplets.

The *Kāśīda* which consists of love is called *īshkīya*, that which portrays spring is known as *Bahārīya*, that which deals with pride is entitled *Fakhrīya*, that which complains against the heavens of the sky is named *Hālīya*, that which mentions the perplexity of the citizens of a town is termed *Shahr-āshub* and that which depicts the distress of the world at large is represented as *Jahān-āshub*. (7)

The Anglo-Persian Grammar by Munshi Ram Kishan, p. 62.

(1)

(2) قصیدہ کے معنی نثری مفرط ہیں - احسن القواعد دہلی مطبع مجتبائی ۱۲۹۹ء ص ۱۹۱ مارج ۱۲۹۹ء

The Students' Arabic English Dictionary by F. Steingass, p. 832.

(3)

(4) قصیدہ را از قصد گرفته اند تا بحد گوید کہ شاعر مقصود خود را در آن بیان بکند - کشف اللغات جلد دوم ص ۱۲۱ مطبع نثریند واقعہ

(5) احسن القواعد ص ۱۹۲ دہلی مطبع مجتبائی مارج ۱۲۹۹ء

The Anglo-Persian Grammar by Munshi Ram Kishan, p. 63.

(6)

(7) احسن القواعد ص ۱۹۲

History. It is not out of place to give a short account of panegyrical poetry from the early years down to our poet. Rūdagi⁽¹⁾ (died 954 A.D.) adorned the Samānīd court and immortalized Naṣr II by writing Kaṣīdās to him. Ūnsurī (b.970 d.1049) was the mirror of the Poet's Round Table in the court of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and Minūchihri, Farrukhī, Ḥsajadī, Asadī, Firdausī, and others were prominent figures therein. (

There was an outburst of panegyrists in the reign of the Seljuḡ Dynasty. Anwarī (1125-1190 A.D.) was the best Kaṣīda writer among such poets as Amīr Mu'izzī, Adīb Šābir, and others. Due to the rivalry between Anwarī and Rashīd-ud-Dīn Vatvāt (d.1182 A.D.) the court poet of Atsīz Khvārazmshah and by "Khākānī (d.1199 A.D.) court poet to Shīrvān-Shāh"(2), the panegyrical period reached its climax.

"Some notable poets lived under the aegis of the noble Šā'idī family whose members held high offices in Isfahan. To this group belonged Sharaf ad-dīn Shafarva (d.1204) and Jamāl-ad-Dīn (d.1192). The latter's son Kamāl ad-dīn Ismā'īl, who enjoyed a still higher reputation, perished at the hands of the Mongols about 1237."(3)

On the murder of a renowned poet like Kamāl-ud-Dīn at the hands of the Mongols, it is an evident fact that the star of poetry was in the descent while the Mongol Emperors had a passion for historical research. Within this bed of ashes, there was a spark of genius in the person of Khwājū who in his early years praised the Muzaffarīd Dynasty at Yazd and in 1316 A.D. began to eulogize Abū Sa'id Khān, the last Mongol monarch.

Our poet revived all forms of Kaṣīdās. They consist of (1) the praise of patrons, in the form of an address as well as a description, (2) prayers to Allah, (3) Praise to the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him), (4) eulogies of His Holiness 'Alī, (may Allah be pleased with him), (5) complaints against the times, (6) an elegy, (7) didactic strains, especially in his addresses to himself, and (8) addresses to the planets. The elegy is a long poem in praise of the dead. It comes under this heading only.

Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 615, Vol. 19. (1)

Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 608, Vol. 17. (2)

Encyclopaedia Britannica, p. 608, Vol. 17. (3)

Samānīd Dynasty. In order to have a clear outline of the panegyrical activities of our poet, we classify his *Kāṣīdas* according to the order of the dynasties mentioned above. At the very outset, we take up instances of his style which imitate Rudagī, the protege of the Samānīd Dynasty. Following the spirit of Rudagī, he begins to praise his master directly without any introduction. Rudagī says:-

(1) *اے بہنگام سخا ابرکف و دریا دل - مشتری خاڑ ز دیار تو و عاہ فجل*
In imitation of him, our poet says:-

(2) *اے بندہ کبریایت متقمم فتح و ظفر - وے لفظ احتشامت مقسم فضل و ہنر*
Ghaznavīd Dynasty. To revive the style of 'Unsuri, Khwājū divides the *Kāṣīdā* in an excellent manner. To establish the truth of our statement, we reproduce the *Kāṣīdas* of both these poets for the interest of our readers in respect of their component parts as discussed above quite irrespective of their metres:-

<p>(3) <i>گر نہ مشک ست از چہ معنی شد سر زلفین یار - مشک بوی و مشک رنگ و مشک پاس و مشک بار</i> اردل مارا بہبت او خود چرا بر بند شد - و قرار ما بہر او خود چرا شد بقرار ور شد ابروش عاشق چہ باشد کوز بہت - ورنہ میخوردہ است چشمش چہ باشد پر غار ماہتابش بنا گوش و خشن سہیل پرو - آفتابش رخ و بالاش سر و جہانبار ہمیکس دیدہ است ماہچہ کا نہ در سہیل دیدہ - ہمیکس دیدہ است رو کا نہ تاب آورد بار ار شوی نزدیک زلفش تا بکادی جہاد - آستین نہ شک باز آئی دگر غبار سرفی از خون نگلد ہرگز چنان کہ زار نور - مردمان گویند مکن من نہ دارم آستوار</p> <p>(4) <i>تشیب</i> چون شد ز بام طام این بنگلوں حصار - منجوق چتر خرد ستارہ آشکار از نوک طلایہ سلطان نیم روز - بشکست قلب کو کہہ خیل زنگبار دامن کشان ز کلاہ رفت شد بہید - خاتون چہل خانہ مشرق و عروس وار تا کہ در آمد از دم آل ماہ مہربان - سر تاندم ر کب از الطاف کردگار در پا نگندہ طرہ شکست شک ہوس - بہکت گرفتہ بادہ نوشین خوشگوار ہزارہ مشرقی شدہ غلوت رائے من - از عکس جام بادہ صافی و روئے یار من در خار ماندہ از ان شیم نیمہ ست - و ز دل قرار رفتہ از ان زلف بہ قرار</p> <p>(5) <i>تشیب</i> ز آنکہ من دلم دلیغ دوزخ و درد است سرخ - ز آنکہ در پیش جانم نور و دل بہ شمار او من ہر دو چہ نازیم و ناز من بہ است - او بہ من خوش ناز و من بچہ شہنار</p> <p>(6) <i>تشیب</i> خضر و مشرق یحیی دولت و بنیاد مجد - آفتاب ملک آئین ملت و فخر کبار یا بہ بندہ یا کشتاید یا ستانہ یا دھو - تا جہاں باشد بچہ مر شاہ را این چار کار آنجہ بستاند ولایت آنچہ بہرہ خواستہ - آنچہ بندہ دہانے دشمن آنچہ بکشتاید حصار</p> <p>(7) <i>تشیب</i> تا بچہ گرد و فو عالم از کشت فلک - کہ تو زو کہ زستان گلگیر و گم بہار شاہ داسر سبز باد و جاں بجائے قنوی - تیغ تیز و ارنافہ بادش و دلشاد خوار تا جہاں جہاں پیش بساطش خاکبوس - دشمنان ملک از گرد سپاہش خاکسار</p>	<p>(3) <i>تشیب</i> چون شد ز بام طام این بنگلوں حصار - منجوق چتر خرد ستارہ آشکار از نوک طلایہ سلطان نیم روز - بشکست قلب کو کہہ خیل زنگبار دامن کشان ز کلاہ رفت شد بہید - خاتون چہل خانہ مشرق و عروس وار تا کہ در آمد از دم آل ماہ مہربان - سر تاندم ر کب از الطاف کردگار در پا نگندہ طرہ شکست شک ہوس - بہکت گرفتہ بادہ نوشین خوشگوار ہزارہ مشرقی شدہ غلوت رائے من - از عکس جام بادہ صافی و روئے یار من در خار ماندہ از ان شیم نیمہ ست - و ز دل قرار رفتہ از ان زلف بہ قرار</p> <p>(4) <i>تشیب</i> چون شد ز بام طام این بنگلوں حصار - منجوق چتر خرد ستارہ آشکار از نوک طلایہ سلطان نیم روز - بشکست قلب کو کہہ خیل زنگبار دامن کشان ز کلاہ رفت شد بہید - خاتون چہل خانہ مشرق و عروس وار تا کہ در آمد از دم آل ماہ مہربان - سر تاندم ر کب از الطاف کردگار در پا نگندہ طرہ شکست شک ہوس - بہکت گرفتہ بادہ نوشین خوشگوار ہزارہ مشرقی شدہ غلوت رائے من - از عکس جام بادہ صافی و روئے یار من در خار ماندہ از ان شیم نیمہ ست - و ز دل قرار رفتہ از ان زلف بہ قرار</p> <p>(5) <i>تشیب</i> ز آنکہ من دلم دلیغ دوزخ و درد است سرخ - ز آنکہ در پیش جانم نور و دل بہ شمار او من ہر دو چہ نازیم و ناز من بہ است - او بہ من خوش ناز و من بچہ شہنار</p> <p>(6) <i>تشیب</i> خضر و مشرق یحیی دولت و بنیاد مجد - آفتاب ملک آئین ملت و فخر کبار یا بہ بندہ یا کشتاید یا ستانہ یا دھو - تا جہاں باشد بچہ مر شاہ را این چار کار آنجہ بستاند ولایت آنچہ بہرہ خواستہ - آنچہ بندہ دہانے دشمن آنچہ بکشتاید حصار</p> <p>(7) <i>تشیب</i> تا بچہ گرد و فو عالم از کشت فلک - کہ تو زو کہ زستان گلگیر و گم بہار شاہ داسر سبز باد و جاں بجائے قنوی - تیغ تیز و ارنافہ بادش و دلشاد خوار تا جہاں جہاں پیش بساطش خاکبوس - دشمنان ملک از گرد سپاہش خاکسار</p>
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Again, in a "*Kāṣīda-i-Khitābiya*", he follows Minūchihri Dāmghānī, who addresses a burning candle to praise his master 'Unsuri; while, our poet addresses a lock to eulogize his patron Shams-ud-Dīn Šāin. To illustrate this parallel instance of address, we reproduce some coup-

(1) دیوان حکیم رودکی - کارخانہ مرزا حبیب اللہ طبران ۱۳۱۵ھ ہجری جب من ۱۰م ز در نسخہ اصل چنین است و در حقیقت خواہز است
(2) دیوان خواجو Fol. 22A
(3) دیوان عنفری ص 51
(4) دیوان خواجو Fol. 36 B , Fol. 37 A , Fol. 38 A

lets of the *kašidas* of both these poets:-

(1) ^{مینوچهری} اے نہادہ بریںیاں فرق جان خوشی - جسم مازندہ بجاں ویاں تو زنده به تن
 (2) ^{قواجو} الے جیو چین بر چین مشکیں کند افکن - گرفته آفتاب حبیب و ماه و شری
 تو آن بادے کشتی که از بادش بود کرب - تو آن هند و خون خوار که بر آتش
 شکست مشک چین از تو زب فقل وین از تو - همه دے زمین از تو پراز آشوب مرد
 اگر شخه شود تازی منم تازی و تازی تو - و گر بیله بود بیله توئی بیله و مجنول
 چرا سوخته گرد طلعت شیریں لبان کردی - بد و در آصف دوراں دل از من نهان
 پناه ملک شمس الحق و الطیق آن ملک گرفت - که گرد چشم سفت اختر ز خاک در گذشت
 او دستان داندان زمانه غصری - غصرتش بے عیب و دل پیش و دل پشت

Minūchihri was not only a poet, but a scholar of versatile gifts, as

accomplished in Arabic as in Persian. In a *Kašida* for Khwājā Ahmad,

the Minister of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghazna, he writes excellent Arabic

rhymes in abundance nicely interwoven with Persian words, as he says:

(3) توئی ظل خدا و نور خالص - بگفتی کس شنید است این شمائل
 یکے ظلی که هم ظل است و هم نور - یکے نوری که هم نور است و هم ظل
 گهر داری بند داری بهر کار - بزرگی را چنین باشد دلائل
 توئی دایه مال و جز تو دایه - توئی فعال بود و جز تو فاعل
 خداوند امن اینجا آمد ستم - بامید تو و امید فاضل

Our poet attempted a *Kašida* in which he interweaves a tapestry of Persian

language and Arabic rhymes most successfully thus:-

(4) منیرست خورشید و رے تو انور - رفیعت گردوں و قدیر تو ارفع
 قوی ست پیل و ماں و تو اقوی - شجاع ست شیر زباں و تو اشجع
 ز نور خمیر تو پیر فلک را - شود دامن و لقی کھلی ملمع
 توانی که سازی ز چرخ مدور - بزخم سرتیغ شکله مربع
 ز امرت هر انکو ترو نماید - بیا به ز قهر تو تفریع و مقمع

In another *Kašida*, Minūchihri makes a pen-picture of a desert and says:-

(5) شستم بران ویراک سماعی - غروبش در لب و لب و لب زبانی
 یکے جبهه بوی بیوت سبک رو - تو کوئی یکے نخله موتی بی

Similarly, in another *Kašida* our poet paints his night journey through a

desert and his coming upon a party of damsels at dawn thus:-

(6) جو بایل هیوں سوئے آن عصره راندم - بگو ستم رسید از مراطل مواجب
 چه دیدم نگارے به اں حسن و منظر - مقصور نگردیده از طین لازب

Still again, Minūchihri was well-versed in the production of *Musammāt*,

as he attempts so eloquently thus:-

(7) آمده تو روزیم از باداد - آمدش فرخ و فرزند باد
 باز جهان قهر و غوب ایستاد - مرد زمستان و بیارال بزد
 از سیمه روست سمن روست براد
 گشته گردیده جو دار القرار

Our poet has imitated him in this form of poetry as well. He writes so

beautifully, as runs below:-

(8) باز طایوس فلک را بال زور بر بسته اند - ز نلها بر بایه ز اغان سیه پر بسته اند
 چرخ را منهدل اسود بین که بر سر بسته اند - بر عرو سال و اوان چرخ ز نور بسته اند
 کلمه ز رفعت بر اوان اخضر بسته اند - طارم پیروزه را اگر زانکه در دلبسته اند
 این همه زریں جلجل از به بر در بسته اند - هیچ دانی چرا در باغ خاور بسته اند
 زان که تاره بر سیه شاه خاور بسته اند
 هند و اوان یکبارہ آوردند بر عالم حشر

ن اصل د

Fol. 13.B, 14	(2) قصائد قواجو در دیوان قواجو	۱۳۸۵ هجری قمری فی شهر رمضان در ایران	(1) قصائد مینوچهری ص ۴۲-۴۳
Fol. 12.A	(4) " " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(3) قصائد مینوچهری ص ۵۳
Fol. 18.B	(6) " " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(5) " " " " " " " " " " " "
Fol. 33.B	(8) " " " " " " " " " " " "	" " " " " " " " " " " "	(7) " " " " " " " " " " " "

In the words of Professor Browne "Asadī's chief claim to distinction rests on the fact that he developed and perfected, if he did not invent, the species of poem entitled *munādhara*, or "strife-poem". (1) His *Kasīdās* of this type are most popular. The "Dialogue of the Night and Day" is one among them. It begins thus:-

(2) *بشنو از حجت گفتار شب و روز بهم - سرگزشته که ز دل دور کند شدت غم*
In this *Kasīda*, Asadī weaves the web of their arguments of the night and day that deal with their respective powers in a tone of their own praises, and lastly he concludes it with praise of and prayer to Abū Naṣr Khalīl Ahmad thus:-

(3) *راو یونفر احمد کرا نصرت وجود - انفر جبهه جلال است در ملک و نعم*
Similarly, our poet attempted some *Kasīdās* in the form of *Munāzara*. We refer here to a dialogue between the candle and the coal-pan. It begins:

دوش چون شام بشیر و فرامید از هم - راستی را بچو سرد از در دور آمد دلم
مجمبر و شمع و شراب آوردم و نقل و کباب - گفتن امشب با سر زلفش بپایان آوردم
(4) *شمع را دیدم که با مجمبر زبان بیرون کشیده - گفت که خون من هر چند پُر شد ساقم*
The individual speeches of the candle and the coal-pan deal with their own activities like those of the Night and Day expressed in a laudatory style and continue one after the other till our poet utters the digression through the tongue of the candle thus:

انفر برج عالی گوید در جلال - آفتاب دی و دولت منج بود در کم
ز بهر دوران نیایش این کیف الحاقش - آنکه گر گوید سر ز کز هفت کشور برزم
(5) and finishes the poem of sixty couplets with praise of and prayer to Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, the Prime Minister of Abū Sa'īd Khān, in a way no less interesting than that of Asadī.

هر کرا اینم بجز مدت نرا نم بر زبان - هر کجا باشم بجز راه دعایت نسیم
هر شب سراج و هر روزت از تو نور باد - تا بمجراج مدیحت از کواکب بگذرم
دیوان خواجہ ۱۰۵۵ هـ ق

It is all the more admirable on his part to mention those poets in this dialogue who win his high opinion; as he says:-

انوری باشد اگر روشن بدانی نسیم - غفری باشد اگر نیکی به بینی جوهرم
از سنائی دم زخم در نسیم ارنجسته رود - وز امامی باز گویم چون به نسیم رهبرم
(6) His prayers to Allah, eulogies of the Holy Prophet (the choicest

blessings of Allah be upon him) and panegyrics for His Holiness Alī (may Allah be pleased with him) are religious. He follows more or less the footsteps of Sanā'ī, the mystic poet of the later Ghaznavīd Period, during these productions. He is very impressive and appealing among them. We

A Literary History of Persia from Zoroastrian to Sāfi, p. 149. (1)

(2) تذکرة الشعراء ۱۴ ن در اصل شدت و غم

(3) تذکرة الشعراء ۱۶

(4) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 9 A

(5) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 10 B

(6) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 10 A

reproduce some couplets out of the *Kāṣidās* of both these poets, expressed as invocations to the Deity. They are as follows:-

(2) سنائی
 تاکہ از خانہ میں رہ صحرایا - تاکہ از کعبہ میں در خمار
 زین برب دست ماود این دست - بعد از جنگاوش با دلقہ بیار
 خیزناز آب روستے بنشائیم - بادا میں خاکب خودہ غدار
 پس بجاروید لا فروع و یوم - کوب از صحن گنبد دوار
 نماز خود بشود نہ از من و تو - لحن الملک واحد القہار
 چند گوئی بیان خلعت و نور - چندی بوی نشان آبی و نار
 ماومن را بحال صبح مدہ - لا دین را بیار و بسج (ظہار)
 حرف را تا نیاوری در فعل - نتوان شد ز اسم بر خور دار
 بگذر از اسم و فعل و حرف بگو - نفی کن جلد را و اسم بر آو
 کوس و حدت بزن کہ در رفیق - تخت مفسورے زند از دار
 Again Sanāi says the following couplets in praise of the Holy Prophet

(the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him):-

(3)

کفر و ایمان را ہم اندر تیرگی ہم در صفا - نیست دار الملک جز زینار و زینت مصطفیٰ
 ہر کہ اینجا بہ نشد اینجا برو و روشن کن - کایں چنین معلول را بہ ساز و آل آب و ہوا
 فی خدا از چاہ و بندہ حاسد انت از روح غفل - بر کشید و بر نشاندت بر سبط کبریا
 عالم از علم تو چنان باد کز مادر صبی - خلقت از خلق تو چنان باد کز گلبن صبا
 خلعت و احسان شاعر شمت ہم نام تست - باد از احسان تو زینت سنائی را سنا

and in imitation of Sanāi, our poet praises the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him) as follows:-

(4)

والشمس و صفر روستے او واللیل معتبہ ہوئے او - در خلقی عنبر بوئے او ہر شہر میں جیب ہوا
 بھنو ز مرغ از شاخ گل کے پیشوایاں سبل - ضلوع علیٰ خیر الرسل اعنی نبی المصطفیٰ
 اے ناسخ کشیل صبل دے محمد ستر از آل - طاغوس باغ لم یزل عتقاء قاف کبریا
 بادا ہزاراں آفریں ہر جانت از باں آفریں - مگر از خواجو را چنین مجوس دین محنت سرا
 در اس مضیق آب و گل بہت از گنہ خوار و محفل - اور ادب خلعت مہل و ز نور معنی دہ ضیا

Although the matter is more or less the same, with regard to the praise of the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him), yet how eloquent is the form of "tarsi" in the above poem used by our poet for the expression of his ideas in contrast to the poem of Sanāi! The cadence of Khwājū's verse makes readers spell-bound, indeed!

Again Sanāi has highly commendable *Kāṣidās* in praise of His Holiness *Alī* (may Allah be pleased with him). One of them has the first couplet as follows:-

(5)

کار عاقل نیست در دل بہر دلبرداشتن - جان نگیں ہر بہر شاخ بے برداشتن

The couplet in which he mentions His Holiness *Alī* (may Allah be pleased with him) runs thus:-

(6)

چون ہمیدہ الی کہ شہر علم لا حیدر و راست - خوب بنود جز کہ خیر میر و مہترداشتن

Khwājū has also written many *Kāṣidās* in praise of His Holiness *Alī* (may Allah be pleased with him). Out of many we refer to one. Its first

(1) کلیات سنائی مطبع برجیں بمبئی شوال ۱۳۲۱ھ ص ۳۱ -

(2) دیوان خواجو Fol. 4 A, Fol. 4 B

(3) کلیات سنائی صفحات ۱۰ - ۱۱ - ۱۲

(4) دیوان خواجو Fol. 48 A

(5) کلیات سنائی ص ۸۲

(6) کلیات سنائی ص ۸۲

couplet runs thus:-

قرطاز چاک زد لعلت بسین بدن - اشک طبع فشانده شیخ مرصع لکن

(1) After such an excellent introduction, he names His Holiness Ali (may Allah be pleased with him) directly so:-

(2) شیردل لافنی شیر خدا مرتضیٰ - حیدر خیر کشتا صفدر عنتر فکن

Seljukian Period. Still further, Anwari, the greatest poet of the Seljukian period, has been mentioned by our poet in a spirit of contrast as referred to above. Now, let us reproduce their couplets for the sake

of an illustration of that contrast which Khwājū claims to make so far:

<p>تا محو صبح صادق را خطر نبود زکوه - تا هفتاب مهر تابانرا فصل نبود زتاب</p> <p>سایه بان بر چرخ زن تا نیمه قدر ترا - صبح می سناو نمود و مهر می تابد هفتاب</p> <p>دشکرت باد لطف انیزی همچو فصل - پائے بوست باد چرخ جنبی همچو رکاب</p>	<p>تا هفتاب صبح را بنود گره چونا نکه تاب</p> <p>خیمه اندر خیمه بادا و طاب اندر طاب</p> <p>عمر تو چون دو گر در دس بلا فراغ از مصاب</p>
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Moreover, Khākānī wrote a "Poem of the Cell", and concluded in praise of the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him). In this poem he challenges every poet in these words:-

(5) گزینت آقیم گوید کس مثل این دو بیت - کافرم در القامه مسجد اقصائے من

to produce two couplets of the type set by him. Our poet takes up the gauntlet and he also composes a poem in praise of the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him). Some couplets of both these

poets are reproduced:-

<p>دش چوں درخشن آمد تو را من - بوج خون بواج زد چشم محیط آسان من</p> <p>من چنیں در آتش جیوی و تهاں شنی - از محیط چشم دریا بار خون پالان من</p> <p>گر دم بر دم آتش برام فرو بندد نفس - کر شود دگوش سپهر از صدمه غوغا من</p> <p>در جهان گنج است و از دریا ملک جهان - گنج من شعر روان و خامه از دریا من</p> <p>گریم از باد بود و دشت خون ملک چشم و دست - کے عالم سر فرود آرد دل یکن من</p> <p>چون شد مهند چه نشان نوست مخطی - طوطی شیر و نایا شد طبع شکر خا من</p>	<p>صمیم چوں کلمه بند آه دو آسان من - چوں شفق در خون نشیند چشم شب سمان من</p> <p>مجلس غم ساخت دین چوں بید سوخته - تا من را وق کند زگان بے پالان من</p> <p>تیر باران کرد ام سپهر چوں نفلند - آس من کرگشید از غوغا من</p> <p>اژد با من حلقه گشته خفته خیر دانم - زان بجنم ترسم گلاگرد آرد مان من</p> <p>بشت بر دیوار زندان رویه برام ملک - چون ملک شد بر شکوفه ترس کیت من</p> <p>از مصاف بویب فغاناں بهیچا نام فغاناں - چون ملک مصطفیٰ شد مقصد ملجان من</p>
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Here is a mirror of the poetical gifts of the two poets. With due deference to the great name and fame of Khākānī, we are bound to pay homage to our poet for having made an excellent response to the challenge of the giant of Persian Literature.

Mongol Period. Now we reach the Mongol Period, when the poets were not held in great esteem. During such furious onslaughts of the conquerors, Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad of Isfahān wrote a Kaśīda in a pessimistic strain as a complaint against the times. During his survey of all the adverse activities of the world, he speaks as a merciless cynic about the people at large in these words:-

(8) رویا گشت بلعاس و دلها بولهب - زانکه سرخا ذوالخمار است و زبانه ذوالفقار

Our poet also attempts a Kaśīda in the same strain. It is singularly significant as a painting of the dark side of the world and character-

ising the people thus:-

تاجہ دیونہ کہ خاتمِ زلیخا طلبند - تاجہ گبرند کہ از ابرِ مسلمان طلبند

(1)

Continuing this cynical criticism of society up to twenty-four couplets he sheds tears of remorse at the deplorable condition of the world in general thus:-

(2)

خواجهاں روئے بخواجه نواز نند خود - مگر آں دم کہ ز چشمش دروِ جان طلبند

The Mongol Period in itself had been the cause of great agitation, disturbance and murder throughout Asia. Persia, China, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor suffered the pangs of agony. These overpowering visitors stained the records of India as well. A Mongol horde under the command of Aitmar with thirty thousand men invaded India in 683 A.H. Prince Muhammad of Multan met them in open field on the banks of the Rāvi. He fell as a martyr fighting bravely against the furious invaders. Amīr Khusrau of Delhi (b.1253-d.1325 A.D.) immortalized him by writing an elegy on his death in the form of "tarkīb-band". A piece of that very threnody is reproduced as follows:-

(5)

تاجہ ساعت بہ کہ شاہ از مولتاں لشکر کشید - تیغ کافر کش برائے کشتن کافر کشید
ادریں تدبیر دآگہ نہ کہ تقدیر فلک - صفحہ تہ بیر را خط مشیت در کشید
ز اختران چشمش رسید اردست باشد چون شہاب - میل بایر تافت اندر چشم ہیفت افر کشید
غرق شد از محرم نے برو بر کل خلق - چون بلخ اندر گلوئے دشمنان خنجر کشید
تا شود عاشورہ در صف عزت چون حسین - گرد خنجر سر مہ در چشم مہ انور کشید
تاجہ ساعت بہ کہ کافر بر سر لشکر رسید
جوق جوق از آب بگشتند و ناگہ در کشید

To evince his full mastery in this art of poetry, our poet wrote an elegy also in the form of the "tarkīb-band" like that of Amīr Khusrau on the death of Nāsir-ud-Dīn. A piece of the same threnody is written below:-

(6)

ز گداز شفق نگر کہ چو خورشید روشنست - کز خون چشم مالک آلودہ دامنست
بیشتر کجاست ورنہ چو نیگو نظر کنی - این خاک تودہ تیرہ تر از چاہہ بیزنست
بہمن پدید نیست و گرنہ ز بانگ رعد - در مغز چرخ دمدمہ کو سہم نیست
گیر کہ بہر خنجر فلک زیر پا نیست - خود را نگاہ دار کہ آن کرہ تو نیست
دی مور بود و عیش و تماشا و خرمی - و امر و ز آہ و دالم و زاری و شیونست
قطب ملک ناصر دنیا و دین نہانہ
فرمان دہ اکابر روئے زمین نہانہ

The elegy of Amīr Khusrau is pathetic and touches the heart but the elegy of Khwājū is second to none in respect of manner and matter.

Moreover, Sādī the greatest didactic poet of Persia, wrote some

Fol. 6A دیوان خواجو (2)

Fol. 5B

(1) دیوان خواجو

در ہمالیہ ایتمر منول باسی ہزار سوار آب راوی را از گداز لاہور گذشتہ فستہ عظیم دران دیار انگلیست - و حاکم لاہور عریضہ مشتمل بریں مہم
بجانب شہید فرستاد اور در مجلس خویش سی ہزار را اسم ہزار خواندہ با سقداد تمام بکوچہاے متواتر در حد و باغ سرور بر کرانہ آب لاہور
بالغار جنگ کردہ بہر جہ شہادت رسید دریں واقعہ در ذی الحجہ شصت و ہشتاد و صم (۶۸۳) ہجری بود - منتخب التواریخ جلد اول لکنتہ ۱۸۶۶ ص
بہمن بخت تدارک این فتنہ بہر بزرگ خود سلطان محمد را کہ مشہور بخان شہید و قاتل آن ملک است ولی عہد گردانیدہ جانب ملتان روانہ
عاشق مہیش و کرم فارسی - پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری - منیہ عام پریس - لاہور ۱۳۰۰
ص ۱۳۰ منتخب التواریخ

Fol. 60A دیوان خواجو (1)

Kaṣīdās under the impulse of the prevailing system in vogue, yet he could not help but insert the lessons of practical philosophy even therein, as he says:-

گر اہل معرفتی دل در آخرت بندی - نہ در خرابہ دنیا کہ حسرت آباد است
رضا بحکم قضا اختیار کن سودی - کہ حرکت بندہ حق شد ز طغی آزاد است

(1)

Our poet is nothing inferior as a moralist, when he writes a Kaṣīda on "advice" in the following words:-

(2)

خیر خواہم دشمن گم نامی مرغ فنا - گر بہانی بحقیقت مگر آن قاب قناست

Furthermore, as to the praise of his patrons, he is no less eloquent.

He brings the strings of words like ropes of pearls to bedeck the brows of his patrons. For instance, we reproduce a few couplets of Khwājū and his contemporary Salmān in praise of Sultan Mubārīz-ud-Dīn and Sultān

Uvais respectively:- (4)

<p>شہر یار آسمان حضرت ختم الختم - آفتاب مشرقی فاطر مد گردوں خط ہرمز برام سطوت گویو گو در زان مقام - راستم گادس رتبت حاتم جنبہ فر کرسے بہمن نہایت بہمن فیروز فر - خضر اسکندر جلال اسکندر دارا اثر</p>	<p>سلمان سادہ جی میں بہ عزم حضرت خورشید اقتدار - آفتاب سایہ گستر سایہ ہر در گار ابر دریا آستین خورشید گردوں آستین - ابد شیر دل شیر دل و در گار زہرہ عشرت ہر طلعت ہر ہر ام ہر مقام - مشرقی راے و عطارد فطنت و کیوں قمار</p>
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Style. The style of his Kaṣīdās is undoubtedly varied. In reality he has endeavoured most successfully to appear in the colours of those whom he imitated. He is verbose, ornate, and definite (in the division of the various parts of the Kaṣīdās), when he imitates 'Unsurī. He imitates Minūchihrī in his versification of grandiose Johnsonian forms of the "-ation" and "-osity" type, interweaving a tapestry of Arabic and Persian words. He is argumentative and impressive like Asadī and gives vent to his ideas in the forms of speeches delivered so eloquently through the lips of inanimate objects. He is mystic and philosophical in his imitation of Sanāī, hence obscure and tedious to the average reader. His Kaṣīdās are couched in flowery language and they carry the readers into a maze of intricacies and puzzles, while he imitates Anvarī and Khākānī. He is pessimistic in ideas and stern in language, while he writes on the model of Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad of Isfahān. He is pathetic and thrilling in his attempt to follow Amīr Khusrāu. It is painful to admit that he is florid and ornate, while he is didactic like Sādī who is ever simple and flashing in style. He is eloquent and fluent in no less a degree than his contemporary Salmān of Sāva. However, it is quite safe to assert that he is simple, interesting and charming, when he appears in his own garb and wins the admiration of his readers most creditably in his attempt to write about himself, as is perfectly evident from the following instances:-

(2) دیوان خواجہ 43A, 43B, 43C

(1) کلیات سعدی - قصائد فارسیہ ص ۱۷۱، ۱۸۰ مطبع لوکسور کائنات ۱۳۱۳ھ

(4) دیوان خواجہ 22A

(3) کلیات سلمان سادہ جی ص ۸۰ مطبع شدہ در نجفی سن اشاعت ندارد

(۱) سروم شگفت نیست کہ آزادم از جہاں - محرم عجب مدار کہ اصلیت گوهرم
 هستم محیط نقطہ خاکی دریں قبل - در خویش غرق گشته کہ دریاے اخفر
 دارم ہوا کے کنگرہ قصر کبریا - بگذار تا ازین قفس خاک برہم
 در بوتہ ام مسوز کہ اکیر اعظم - در آتشم مدار کہ کبریت احمر

(۲) من ببال کبریا در اوج وحدت ے ہرم - بشنو آواز ملائک از طہن شہرم
 تر جان قایل وئی است در اطوار غیب - خامہ عجیب نامے وطبع حکمت ہروم
 عکس عالم در وجود خویش بینم منعکس - در زمین با و رکنی آئینہ اسکندرم
 گرچہ همچوں قطب گردوں در بحر دثابت - دختر اربابش را در چار مذہب شوہرم
 گر بصورت سالن دیر مقام ے نہند - ساکنان راہ ایمان را بمعنی رہبرم

Peculiarities. It is pleasing to note some of the characteristic features of Khwājū. Firstly, in a *Kāšīda* written in praise of Tāj-ud-Dīn Irākī, he introduces 'coin' and makes his request for a donation quite convincing in the opinion of the patron and his audience. He says:

My lord, I want to tell a tale to you,
 Pray hear it. Don't turn your face at all;
 In presence of your burser, O my lord,
 The purse, a page, whom the 'dinar' they call;.....
 In the shop of the bankers it resides,
 Its company with the traders e'er doth fall;
 Planet 'tis not although in Jupiter,.....
 A star 'tis not, like stars are countless all;...
 The golden coin is surely like the sun,
 At noon the mart is brisk and keen, withal;.....
 Although a coin doth ever bless a man,
 You e'er bless it before the great and small;.....
 What hath it done? You have imprisoned it,
 Take pity and now break its fetters all;
 I for a boon have come to you, my lord,
 Fulfil my aim, I am to you a thrall;...
 Your burser hath detained it in disgrace,
 Call it, free it, give it to me, withal.

Although, the tendency of *Kāšīda*-writing reflects upon the slave mentality, as referred to above in the words of the

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Fol. 35B, 36A

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(۳) حکایت بہ صائب تو عرصہ سے - غلامکے صمیمیت
 ضایگانا در بندہ کے خازن تو -

Like dust upon your threshold I have fallen down,
So that, my lord, your mind may ne'er feel ill against me;
By God that all the maids of His omnipotence
Make curly locks of the dark night that ever be;
By God that doth bestow upon the warbler's throat
The tune of David's song and music's melody. (1)

He continues such oaths from the 30th couplet to the 84th couplet at a breath and plays a persistent part in demanding his reward so ingeniously;

I put you to so many oaths that you may take
Me as a servant 'mongst your servants tenderly:
Although, like me one thousand servants you still have,
Rear me and count one thousand and one, Pray agree. (2)

Furthermore, at the time of mirth and joy in the introduction of a *Kasida*, he inserts couplets that make a pen-picture of his tears, quite peculiar to him at such a moment, as follows:-

There is the rain of spring, you say, through your deep love indeed
That from the pupil of my eyes in flood the torrents fall;
When did the pupil of my eye begin to look to you,
Then thro' the pupil of my eye, my heart adown fell all;.....
My falling tears e'er appear, so oft-times red in hue,
They doubt, the pupil of my eye has been ashamed, withal.
When doth the pupil of my eye shed all its blood for me-
A broken one - by heart and soul, I myself its friend call;
Although my stipend and reward is from the heart's red blood,
My stipend from my lodestar now in your reign doth befall. (3)

How miraculously does he make these tears suitable to the occasion with the power of his pen at the time of digression thus:

The master of the world is Rukn-ud-Din 'Amīd-ul-Mulk,
Light of the sky's eye, pride of the lodestar of the eye-ball. (4)

Still again, our poet is more captivating and charming in a *Kasida* than on any other occasion, when he depicts an afflicted mind. He is true to his message of Love and finds pleasure in remorse and its remedy in pain. How pleasantly does his verse seem to paint his loved one smiling, while he sheds tears in respect of representing the bright and dark side of the phenomenon of nature at one time, thus:

- (5) Your red lips when they wear a smile, down falleth my life sweet,
At sight of your cypress-like size, then death my soul did greet;
.....
The flowing water from my eyes, so suddenly, doth fall,
Whene'er my mind doth think about your face's glowing heat;
.....
The casket of my heart is full with all the genuine gems,
If I shall then unclothe its mouth, my soul will surely fleet.
.....
Through the storm of separation my spring of life did drop
Like to a flower's petal, when the autumn's wind did beat;
.....
The sockets of my eyes are full of perfect gems so fine;
What is the use of all these gems, when they fall at one's feet?
.....

(4) خدا یگانہ جہان کریم دین عمید الملک - فروغ دیدہ چرخ افکار مردم ششم Folk 26 A دیوان خواجہ	(1) ہر آستان برضیت فتادہ ام چرخ خاک - بشرط آنکہ نگردد دلت زینہ فہار بدان خدایہ کہ مشاطگان قوت او - کنند سلسلہ مرغول طرہ شب فہار
(5) بوقت خندان زلفی تو جان فروریزد - بگاہ جلوه زسروت روان فروریزد دلہم چو آتش دوتہ تو در خیال آرد - زرقشتم آب روان ناگہاں فروریزد	بدان کریم کہ بخشہ بنائے موسیچہ - نوازے نغمہ داود و لحن موسیقار Folk 15 B دیوان خواجہ
	(2) ترا بدین ہمہ گوئند و ہم کہ مرا - کیستہ بنہ ازینہ کان خویش انگار حکرت ہزار چوین چاکہ نہ درضیت - مرا بسرور و آنکہ نہ ازونک بد

My broken heart like to a glass doth seem to be a cup,
Whence moment after moment falls the boiling wine so meet;
.....
When you do ope the salt pistachio for a sweet smile,
The sugar-candy falleth from your lips like sugar sweet. (1)

When, all of a sudden, at the time of digression, he begins to praise
Rukn-ud-Din quite characteristically in an eloquent manner, thus:-

Like to the caske^t of your pearls, my muse hath many times
So cast the bright pearls o'er the lord auspicious and discreet,
The bright Moon of the heav'n of art, good Rukn-ud-Din the Just,
With arrows hath thrown down the pearls from the Twin's girdle near
(2)

Still more, it is a matter of great pleasure that he is quite unex-
pectedly humorous in demanding his reward in a way singularly peculiar to
himself, thus:-

I was repeating all my grief before a friend of mine,
Through all this torture of the time and pest of poverty;
Quoth he, "What did he say to you? Or did he give somewhat?"
Said I, "He gave", "And what?" quoth he. I said, "Please wait,
said he." (3)

Finally, in a *Kasīda* in praise of the planets, quite an eccentricity
of his brain, he is marvellously poetical, flowing and powerful in diction
as he versifies so:-

What are these birds in the green valley of the sky,
With the grace of peacocks, in gait the pheasants all?
.....
They are the source of pleasure, wealth, distress and grief,
They hold despair and fulfil the desires, withal. (4)

He carries his readers on the wings of imagination all round the phenom-
ena of Nature, until, in spite of his tears and smiles in his *Kasīdās*, he
is solemn and serene to confess his belief in the Deity thus:-

Although they are the kings of the climes of the sky,
They are the nations's guards, pride of the great and small.
What Khwājū should have done but to obey the Lord,
To whom the planets are the slaves, the sky a thrall? (5).

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| | (1) دل شکستہ جو آئینہ ام جاہلیت - کہ دم بدم سے جو شیدہ ازاں فروریزد |
| Fol. 26 B دیوان خواجہ | جو ہستہ نیکیں را بچندہ بکشیے - نہایت از لب شکر فشاں فروریزد |
| | (2) جو درج نعل تو طبعم بسا کہ در خوشاب - ببحج صاحب صاحب قرآن فروریزد |
| Fol. 26 B دیوان خواجہ | منہ سپر ہنر رکین داد و دین کہ بہتر - جواہر از کمر تو امان فروریزد |
| | (3) با غمگسارے بازے گفتم غمے - از بلائے تنگ دستی و جفاے روزگار |
| Fol. 76 B دیوان خواجہ | گفت آنکےت خوابہ فرمودست آیا بھیج داد - گفت آخر چہ گفتم انتظار |
| Fol. 5 A دیوان خواجہ | (4) زیں گوئے چہ مرغندہ کہ در گلشن افلاک - با جلوہ طامس ہمہ کبک خرامند |
| Fol. 5 B دیوان خواجہ | سرمایہ شادی و غم و دولت و محنت - دارندہ حرمان و برآرندہ کامند |
| Fol. 5 B دیوان خواجہ | (5) ہر چہ کہ سلطان اقبالیم سپہرندہ - مامور ملاز امم و فخر کرامند |
| | نوابو چکنہ گر نشود بندہ فرمان - آنرا کہ فلک چاکر و ستارہ غلامند |

Introduction. A Ghazal is an "Ode" (1) consisting of the minimum number of "five" couplets and the maximum of "fifteen" (2). Its literal meaning is "making love to women" (3). It is a combination of verses, consistent in rhyme and metre, but different in the unity of its ideas. It deals with a lady, love, and liquor. It describes the yearnings and sufferings of a lover in a manner melodious enough to be sung on a lyre; hence it may be called a lyrical poem as well. The more erotic, the more lovely it is. The opening couplet is called "matlā" and the last "makṭā". The best couplet after the "matlā" is entitled the "Husn-i-matlā". The "Takhallus" or the pen-name (nom-de-plume) of a poet is in the makṭā. An ode of Rudagī is reproduced here to serve as a specimen: (4)

چو بکشاين نگار من دو بادام و دو مرجان را - بدين نازان کنده دل را بجان کنده جان را
من و جانان بجان و دل فرو بستيم باز را - که جان و دل مراد داده است من جان داده جان را
چونايکه گفته دارم دل بنابر تفت آگنده - از آن گاه که دل دادم نگار نار پستان را
نشانده اند دل من دوست زهر آلوده بیکانه - که جز با جان زد دل نتوان نشيدن لاکي بیکان را
وصال و پيچر او اصلي است در انجمن رنج [و] راحت را - بجنگ و آشتي مایه است دایم درد و درمان را
بکفر ایمان تبه گردد و سکن رنج مردم را - زمانه برد دین و دل بکفر آراست ایمان را
از آن گاه که پنهان کرد از من روئے پیدار را
شک روئے زردم کرد پیدار از پنهان را

Short history of Lyrics. During the Samānīd Rule in 874-999 A.D.

Rudagī, the Chaucer of Persian poetry, sang charming odes on the lyre to earn his livelihood. The lyrical form of poetry got its birth at that time. It was in its infancy in the days of the Ghaznavīd kings and Seljukian monarchs. There was a fall in poetry and a rise of history in the Mongol Period. When the terrors of the stormy Chingīz Khān and his descendants fell and hid themselves in the graves of these conquerors, the flowers of poetry blossomed after the showers of Muzaffarī patronage visited Persia, while the creeping plants of history fell down and withered along with their dead supporters. There was a revival of poetry in the days of our poet. The lyrical form of verse, especially, reached its blooming now, as Khwājū was the contemporary of Hāfiz, the greatest lyrical poet of Persia.

Youth. As has already been shown above, Khwājū was a born poet.

- The Anglo-Persian Grammar by Munshi Ram Kishan (1)
The Anglo-Persian Grammar by Munshi Ram Kishan (2)
A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary by F. Steingass (3)
(4) دیوان خواجه رودکی ص ۵ - طهران رجب سنه ۱۳۱۵ هجری

We know, on his own authority now, that he attempted this form of poetry in the beginning of his poetical career.. We have on record the poems which are a concrete proof of our statement. Still again, it is a fact that he continued these lyrics till his old age. In order to prove this statement, we reproduce two poems out of many which were composed in his youth and old age respectively:-

Youth.

(1)

مرا زہجہ تو امید زندگانی کو - در آرزوئے تہلہ زیت جوانی کو
اگر نہ عمر منی رسم بے وفائی چیست - وگر زمانہ شی شرط مہربانی کو
میاں باد یہ غم ز تشنگی مردم - زلال مشربہ عذب شادمانی کو
فتادہ برد و جہاں ہر تو بجلی اوست - صغیر ببلستان من ترانی کو
جون بانگ و نالہ خواجہ فنا در راه عشق - غریب دندہ کوس کاروانی کو

Where is the hope of life due to your separation, dear?
There is no taste in youth, indeed, through love for you, pray hear
What is the rite of faithlessness, if you are not my life,
If you are not the times there is no sign of kindness clear?
I died of thirst in the waste of such great despondency,
Where is the sweet and limpid water of happiness here?.....
The light of His reflection has fallen on both the worlds,
Where is the bird's voice of the vale "Thou can'st not see me!" her
When the cries and shrieks of Khwājū are on the path of love,
Where is the beating of the drum of the caravan near? (1)

Old Age.

(2)

ہر کہ در عہد ازل مست شد از جام شراب - سر ببالین ابد باز بند مست و خراب
بے دلاں را رخ زیا نہنمائی بچہ وجہ - عاشقانرا ز درخویش برائی زہ باب
مے پرستان ہمہ مخمور و عقیقت ہمہ مے - عالمے مردہ ز بے آبی ولعلت ہمہ آب
تر شود دم نہم فرقہ بخون دل ریش - زانکہ شرطست کہ ہر جامہ فشانند کلاب
دیر گشتی ز جوانی و مہمانی خواجو - دوسہ روز دیگر ایام بقا را دریاب

Who has become drunk of the wine's cup since Eternity
Rests his head on Infinity's pillow in ecstasy.
Why don't you show your pretty face to those who heartless are?
Why do you drive the lovers poor from your door, pray tell me?
The drunkards all are giddy and your agate-like lips wine,
A world died waterless and your lips like to liquor be.....
With the blood of the wounded heart, the cloak is growing wet,
For on the cloth they sprinkle the rose watery verily.
From youth you have grown old, Khwājū, you will not live for long,
These two or three days of more life, pray get, if they may be. (2)

The purity of language, the flight of imagination and the depth of pathos of the latter piece speak for themselves that his style had become flashing and his power of diction striking at the time of his old age. Avoiding the metaphorical and flowery language of his youth, he became direct in expression and impressive in effect. Moreover, spontaneity

(1) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 163A, 163B

(2) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 84B, 85A

74
is apparently prevailing throughout.

Inspiration. It is all the more wonderful to note that our poet cultivated a marvellous power of composing verses. Generally a poet is inspired to write at the sight of any phenomenon of Nature which serves as an impulse to awaken his latent faculties to burst out into poetry. A poet has to attend to that call of inspiration there and then, because of the overwhelming force of the powers working inside. He is not at rest as long as he does not obey that call.

To prove this remark of ours, we take the case of a mystic poet of England, William Wordsworth by name. He looks at the Rainbow and bursts out spontaneously thus:-

"My Heart Leaps Up".

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rainbow in the sky:
So was it when my life began;
So is it now I am a Man;
So be it when I shall grow old,
Or let me die!
The Child is Father of the Man;
And I could wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety. (1)

The case of our poet is exactly the reverse of this. He sits in his closet, thinks of writing and writes quite miraculously. He is not at the call of Inspiration, but rather Inspiration is at his call. He himself says:-

گل سوری کہ عرصہ چمنش سے خواندہ - گو مدہ بار دریں تجربه کہ سورت است این جا

Say to the red rose which is called the garden's pretty bride.
Don't come into this private room; here's already a feast. (2)

Let alone going to the garden, our poet does not allow Beauty to enter into his room, as his own heart is the seat of Beauty that illuminates his mind for Inspiration. Again he says:-

کسے کہ روع بہ دیوار غم نیاوردے - کنوں زہر تو اورد روع در دیوار

That one who did not turn his face toward the wall of grief
Has turned his face now to the wall due to your love, my dear! (3)

It is an indication of his sitting in his room and composing verses.

Still further, he says:-

نہ ہمہ سے کہ بر آرم وے مگر نالہ - نہ محرمے کہ بلویم غمے مگر دیوار

I have no friend to speak to him, but my bewailings here,
I have no confidant, my grief but the wall doth e'er greet. (4)

In the above couplet, he directly asserts that he sits alone, weeps and writes as he prefers to do without any impulse of the phenomenon of Nature to inspire his muse.

To crown all, he establishes the truth of our statement in his own

Poems of Wordsworth, p.115. Macmillan & Co, Ltd, London. (1)

words as follows:

نہیں ہے کلک سپاہِ روئے مرا ہم سخن - نیست جز آماجگر سوزِ مرا ہم نفس

(1)

There's none to speak to but the pen, which ever is black-faced,
There's not a single friend but sighs which always burn my heart

We know perfectly now that Inspiration was at his beck and call. He revelled in lyrics. A lady, love, and liquor supplied him with the theme of his sweet songs. These carols did suit his lips very well, and he called himself "Tutī-i-Shakkar Zubān" (the sweet-tongued parrot), irrespective of age from gay to grey, as he writes:-

(2)

چوں سبیل تو سلسلہ برابر خواں بہاد - آشوب در بہاد میں نا تو اں بہاد
چشم بہ قصد کشتن من میکند کیمیں - ورنے خدنگ غمزہ چرا در کہاں بہاد
ہمیش بہ دست نیبعت کہ تا در میاں نہاد - ہرے کہ داشت با تو کمر در میاں بہاد
ہر تر و کس نکت کہ طوطی شکر شکرست - ہر ماہ کس نہید کہ زاغ آشیان بہاد
در تابم از دو سبیل ہندوت کز یہ رو - سر بر کن پرسترن دار خواں بہاد
اے جان من بہان لطافت توئی دلک - دل برو فانی غمید جہاں چوں تو اں بہاد
زاں رو کہ در جہاں بہ جالت نظر نیست - ہر کس کہ دید روے تو سرور جہاں بہاد
الفاظ من بہ وصف تو شیریں جو شکرست - گوئی لب تو ام شکر اندر دیاں بہاد
خواجہ چو نام لعل لب راند ہر زباں - تماش زماں طوطی شکر زباں بہاد

Similes and Metaphors. The similes and metaphors are the inheritance of yore bequeathed to Persian poetry for its decoration. Persian Literature abounds in them to make poetry beautiful and attractive. Generally speaking, various parts of the body of the lady-love are compared to different objects, for example, the cypress stands for the stature, the hyacinth represents her locks, the Moon shows her face, the mirror reflects her brow, the rainbow appears for her forehead, the almonds depict her eyes, the dagger exhibits her eye-lashes, the flagon portrays her neck, the bud indicates her lips, the pistachios express her mouth, the pearls display her teeth, and so on.

The use of these similes had become conventional. They had become part and parcel of Persian poetry. The verses lack beauty and charm according to some critics, if these similes are avoided. While, in our opinion, the purity of language loses its grace due to their traditional usage. Moreover, how funny it is to compare an animate being to an inanimate object? Is not a human being the noblest of all the universe? Is not a human being the crown of all creation? Is not human beauty the best of all kinds of beauty?

Fol. 206 B دیوان خواجہ (1)

Fol. 211 A دیوان خواجہ (2)

Is it not, then, reasonably detrimental to the cause of humanity to compare it to a rose, cypress, the Moon, and so on? On the other hand, the rose, the cypress, the Moon, etc., ought to be compared to the human being, for Allah, the Most Wise says in His Holy Kūrān, "Verily we created man of a most excellent fabric." (1)

By a happy coincidence of events, our poet Khwājū shows a revolutionary spirit to this conventionality of similes and metaphors and upholds our cause very strongly in his own words:

(2) "قامتش را بجزوبر نتوان خواند از آنک - نسبت سرو و گویا نتوان کرد
.....

(3) گرمایه خوانمت بنود ماه سرو قد - در سرو گویمت بنود سرو سیم بر

(4) گرمی گفت که چون قد تو سروی بر خاست - آن فیالیت که در خاطر ما بنشیند
چون تو بر خیزی و از ناز خرامان گردی - سرو بر طرف گلستان ز حیا بنشیند

(5) هر که کند صفا تمامت شبانمت - این روشنت از نظرها تمام اوست

(6) گرمیست کرده ام تشبیه ماه - شرمسارم کین کنه روشنت

Her stature cannot be compared with the pine tree, because
The graceful moving cypress of her is not like the grass.

.....
If I call you the Moon, she is not cypress-sized;
If cypress I call you, it hath not silvery sides.

.....
If some one said, "The cypress rose like to your stature high"

It is a thought that cannot be conceived by me at all.
When you are pleased to stand up and walk so gracefully,
The cypress on the garden's side sits down through shame withal.

.....
If any one compares you with the full Moon,
'Tis clear, it is due to his imperfect eye-sight.

.....
If I say that your face is like the Moon,
I am ashamed, 'tis a manifest sin.

Although a poet of the high position of Khwājū had been compelled to tread upon the path of conventionality in order to captivate the attention of his readers, yet he avoids as far as it is possible the excess of similes and metaphors, sometimes, and makes the ode interesting

He says:-
(7) بس که مرغ محری در غم گلزار بسوخت - جگر لاله به او دشته زار بسوخت
جبه اشع که از آتش دل چون مجنوں - بهوائے رخ یلکے بشب تار بسوخت
تو که احوال دل سوختگان می دانی - مکن انکار کسے کز غم این کار بسوخت
وی شب آن رند که سر حلقه تھارال بود - مزو آیه و در خانه خمار بسوخت
ای که از سترانا الحق خبر یافتی - چه شوی منکر منصور که بردار بسوخت

(1) لَقَدْ خَلَقْنَا الْإِنْسَانَ فِي أَحْسَنِ تَقْوِيمٍ هـ سورة التین

(2) دیوان خواجو Fol. 98 A (3) دیوان خواجو Fol. 181 A (4) دیوان خواجو Fol. 229 B
(5) دیوان خواجو Fol. 164 B (6) دیوان خواجو Fol. 321 A (7) دیوان خواجو Fol. 38 A

تارے از صن تو افتاد پچین از غیرت - خون دل در جگر نافہ ہاتا تار بسوخت
بیل سوختہ دل را کہ دم از گل میزد - آتش ہر ہیز و شعلہ چوں خار بسوخت
گر از ہستی خواجو اثرے باقی بود - این دم از آتش عشق تو بیکبار بسوخت

The morning bird burnt itself all in grief of the green mead,
The tulip's heart burnt for the poor that lost its heart, indeed.
Bravo the wick! That Majnūn-like burnt of its heart's own fire
In the dark night for the desire of Lailā's face, take heed!
As you know the state of those who have been heart-burnt all,
Pray don't deny those who are burnt through this grief as decreed.
That libertine who was the head of toppers yesternight
With fiery sighs burnt now the door of the ale-house, indeed.
The secret of "I am the Truth", if it is known to you,
While Mansūr on the cross was burnt, do you deny that creed?
Your beauty's one film curly grew, by way of rivalry
The blood burnt in the musk-pod's heart in Tartar by that deed.
The philomel, whose heart is burnt talked of the rose's love,
The fire of love rose like a flame and burnt it like a reed.
If there were any trace behind of Khwājū's life still left,
Now all at once it has been burnt through your love's fire, indeed.

Our poet is in no way less interesting and charming than that poet whose lyrical poems abound in similes so common to be met within Persian poetry. How fine would it have been, if a spirit of reformation had been awakened to purge these similes and produce beauty and grace out of purity of language alone!

Khwājū as a Lover. It is evident from the above poem that Khwājū draws a penpicture of the burnings of his heart. The heart is the place of love, hence a mark of Cupid's arrow. Indeed, Cupid is the emblem of love, but can there be any common ensign for all the lovers as a whole? It is difficult to have one and the same indication of all the lovers in general. Why? The individual representation varies according to a lover's own attitude, taste and mentality. Our poet's representation is in burnings, sighs and tears. It follows quite reasonably that his emblem of love would be of the relevant category to them, as will be dealt with later on, *Ashtā Allah.*

He paints his burnings in the above poem, and he as lover depicts his sighs in the following:-

(2) اے غم عشق تو آتش زدہ در خرم دل - و آتش ہر جگر سوز و دود انگن دل
چشمہ نوش ہر پوش لبست چشمہ جان - حلقہ زلف سخن ہر شکست معدن دل
گر کنی قصہ دلم دست من و دامن تو - و رکنی ترک تو دل دست من و دامن دل
جانم از دست دل از غرقہ خون جگرست - خون جان من دل سوختہ در گردن دل
ہر تو روئے تو شد شمع شبستان دلم - تا شبستان سوز زلف تو شد مسکن دل
بدہ آن آب چو آتش کہ بجای آمدہ است - ز آتش روئے دل افروز تو خون در تن دل

Fol. 88 A دیوان خواجو (1)

Fol. 187 A, 187 B دیوان خواجو (2)

چارہ بانادک چشت پیر انداختن است - ورنہ تر نرزه ات بگزد از جوشن دل
 ذیل شیدا بہ ہر امن سوداگر دو - دابل دل را غم سوداے تو ہر امن دل
 آتے در دل خواجست کہ از شعلہ است - دود آتے کہ ہر دن ے رود از روزن دل

O your love's grief has burnt my heart's harvest alway,
 Your absence's red fire is a magician's smoke, aye.
 Your sweet lips' fount, that hides the pearls, is the life's spring,
 The wrinkles of your locks are the heart's mine alway.
 If you aim for my heart, there's my hand and your skirt,
 If the heart leave you the heart's skirt and my hands fray.
 If my life's drowned in the heart's blood through the mind's might,
 The blood of this heart-burnt doth on the mind's neck lay.
 The light of your face is my heart's chamber's bright wick
 Since in the chamber of your locks my heart did stay.
 Pray, let me have that fiery water; my heart's blood
 Has boiled due to the fire of your face glowing aye.
 I cannot but yield to the darts of your eyes, or 'tis so,
 Your eye-lashes' darts pierce through the heart's mail, I say.
 The lover's heart is all besotted with your love,
 Your love's grief overwhelms the mind of the brave aye.
 Khwājū hath fire in his heart due to its bright flame,
 So his sighs' smoke finds through the heart's window its way.

Again, in love and especially at the time of separation, Khwājū sheds tears bitterly which he himself strings into a necklace of pearls thus:

(2)

اے کہ از شربت فوے از رضا زورے چکے - چوں سخن بیگوئی از لعل تو گوہرے چکے
 زان لب شیریں جوئے آرام حدیشے در قلم - از نے کلمہ نظر کن کاب شکرے چکے
 دامن گردوں تہرا ز خون جگر بنم بہ صبح - بس کہ از میر تو اشک از چشم افترے چکے
 چوں عقیق گوہر افتاب توئے آرام بیاد - دروغم سیم عذاب از دیدہ ہر زورے چکے
 بس کہ ے ریزد ز چشم اشک بیگون شمع دار - ز آتش دل خون لعل از چشم ساغرے چکے
 عاقبت سیلاب از سر بگزد رد چوں دم بہم - راہ سیکرم ہر آب چشم و دیگرے چکے
 آستین بردیدہ ے بندم وے ہر دامن - خون دل چندہ انکے ے بیغم فرو ترے چکے
 خامہ چوں احوال در دم ہر زبان ے آورد - اشک خویش رواں ہر رد و فرے چکے
 تشنہ ے میرم جو خواجو ہر لب دریا ولیک - ہر لب خشتک سرشک از دیدہ ہر ترے چکے

Through grievous shame the sweat fell from the face of the sun
 bright,
 And when you speak from your red lips the pearls fall down out-
 right.

When I indite a tale of those red lips which are so sweet,
 The juice of sugar from the reed of the pen doth alight.
 I see at morn the heaven's skirt contains the liver's blood,
 The eyes of the star in your love shed much the tears aright.
 Your ruby-casting lips when I remember, O my dear,
 The melting silver of my eyes fall down on gold with might.
 My red tears like to the wick's drops fall so much from my eyes,
 The heart's fire sends the red blood falling from the cup's eye-
 sight.

The torrents in the end will pass above my head anon,
 I stop my tears, they fall adown with force that is not slight.
 I shut my eyes with my own sleeve, but my skirt is e'er full
 Of the heart's blood, the more I see, the more 'tis brought to
 light.

When my pen doth explain the state of my affliction clear,
 Its tears of blood then trickle on the sheet's face, when I write.
 Like Khwājū I die thirsty here beside the sea-shore but
 The tears fall down on my dry lips from the eyes wet and bright.

Finally, he introduces us to the last stage of his theme of love.

He represents his emblem as a lover by the sign of a "broken heart".

This is clearly shown in the underlined verse:-

Fols. 187 A, 187 B دیوان خواجو (1)

Fol. 161 A دیوان خواجو (2)

خوشا بہ مجلس شوریدگان درد آشام - بیا و لعل لبش نوش کردہ جام مدام
 پیش شنیدہ ام از مفتی مسائل عشق - کہ مرد پختہ نگردد مگر ببادہ جام
 جفا و تلکب ایام چون ز حد بگذشت - بیار بادہ کہ چون بادے رود ایام
 نیال زلف و رخت گر معاونت نکند - چگونہ شام بصبح آورند و صبح بشام
 مرا از لوح حرف - این دو حرف موجود است - دل شکستہ جو جیم و قدیمہ چون لک
 اگر بیام برائی کہ فرق و اند کرد - کہ طلعت تو کہ ام است و آفتاب کہ ام
 دے ز وصل تو گفتم مگر بکام رسم - دم بکام فرو رفت و بر نیامد کام
 براه باد یہ ہر کس کہ خون نگر و طلال - حرام باد صرور و اوصال بیت حرام
 اگر بکنیت خواجو رسی قلم در کش - کہ ننگ باشد از عاشقان براید نام

نہ اصل مر

دیوان خواجو B 116 Fol.

Bravo! The crazy ones who meet and drink the dregs in all,
 In memory of her red lips, they drink without a fall.
 From the judge of the cases of love I have heard so far,
 Until a man drinks the wine cup we cannot ripe him call.
 When tyrannies and tortures of the times o'er stepped the bounds,
 Bring here the wine, the days so fleet like to the storm withal.
 If the thought of your locks and your face cannot help me here,
 How doth the morning and in eve and eve to morning fall?
 Two letters of the alphabet I from the tablet know,
 The broken heart's like "jim" and the bent size like "lām" doth fall
 If you come up there on the roof, no one can ever know,
 Which is the sun, which is your face, it gloweth to all?
 I thought to win my aim in view thro' union of yours,
 My breath was choked down in my throat, I lost my aim, withal.
 If on the desert's path did not one think lawful his blood,
 It is forbidden then to him to see the Ka'ba's hall.
 If you will find Khwājū's "kunyā", cross it out there and then,
 'Tis shame, if name the lovers win, they may be great or small.

Pessimism of Khwājū. The above poems serve as an indication that Khwājū took a pessimistic view of life. It was partly due to the fact of his being left an orphan as stated in the chapter on ^{his} Education, and mostly due to his natural bent of mind that he practised pessimism in his life;

as he says:

دیوان خواجو B 207 Fol.

با تو محال است برآینفتن - گرچہ غمت با کلم آیت نخست

It is too difficult to meet with thee,
 Although thy grief is mixt with my own dust.

As he was advancing in age, he developed this taste, as he says:

9.B دیوان خواجو

31A دیوان خواجو

38.B دیوان خواجو

35.B دیوان خواجو

149.A دیوان خواجو

176.B دیوان خواجو

183A دیوان خواجو

226.A دیوان خواجو

227.B دیوان خواجو

- (1) تانروی درد دل من خیمہ باقبال غمت - شادی از جان من غم زدہ بگریمتہ است
- (2) بزرگوار غم از پست گشتہ ام غم نیست - ترا کہ ترکب شکر کردہ ام ز بار چہ غم
- (3) بدوستی کہ در حدیث نیاید - آنچه غم بادل شکستہ ما کرد
- (4) شمع دل افروختیم غم زدوں سوختیم - غنچ غم اندوختیم با غم دل ساختیم
- (5) اگر عمر منی اسب نبزو زودو - و گر بزودی منی اس غم برو کل
- (6) چہ کیمیاست غمت کہ خواض او خیزد - زرم ز چہرہ دسیم ملازم از دیدہ
- (7) ز ہر چرخ شبے این سوال مے کردم - کہ از زمانہ مرا خود نصیب حلقہ غم است
 بطیرہ گفت نہ بینی کہ چرخ کاسہ شال - ز بہر خوردن خون تو جلد من شکم است
- (8) روئے زمین ز خون دلم غم گرفتہ است - پشت ملک ز بار غم خم گرفتہ است
- (9) غم دل پاکہ تواند کہ بگوید خواجو - مگر آنکس کہ غمے دارد و اوراد نیست

1. Since you pitched your tent in my mind with the grace of your ^{grief},
Oh! Happiness has fled away from my grief-stricken soul.
2. If I have bent below the load of grief, it matters not;
There is no fear of burden aye; the camel I have left.
3. I cannot tell so truly what
The grief did with my wounded heart!
4. We lit the candle of our heart and burnt our soul's aloes,
We hoarded the treasure of grief, approved of the mind's grief.
5. O night, if you are my life pass on soon!
O grief, if you are my part then grow whole!
6. Your sorrow is an alchemy that from its attributes,
Gold is produced from my own face, pure silver from my eyes.
7. I myself asked the heavens old one night,
"Why from the world grief doth my share befall?"
Said sternly, "Why don't you see, the cup-like sky
To drink your blood is like the belly all."
8. The surface of the earth with my blood wet has grown,
Because of my grief's load, the sky's back a curve hath shown.
9. To whom can Khwājū tell his mind's grief, do you know?
But the man who hath grief and he hath lost his heart.

The burnings of his heart, the tears, sighs, yearnings, and lamentations
culminated in:-

جو اقصائے قضا محنت است و غم خوابو - اگر بحکم قضایت رضا بود غم نیست
دیوان خواجو Fol. 93.B

Oh Khwājū, when Fate doth demand grief and adversity,
If you submit to the Fate's writ, there is no woe at all.

Pessimism had been engrained in his nature, hence it was inevitable
for him to give vent to such ideas as are reproduced above. He in-
vites strokes or pain to extract pleasure out of it as is illustrated

in his own words:-
چه باشد چوں من نالان به غربت گشته ام قانع - اگر یک لوتیتم در بر کشی چوں چنگ بنوازی
دیوان خواجو 44A

It matters not, if I who weep am with your strokes content.
If once you take me on your lap, play on me like the lyre.

At that stroke, his lamentations, musical like the lyre, seem to be
the source of pleasure to others in his view only. Because in this
dark production for others, he found for himself the bright side of life
in it. What was food to him, was poison for others. How can his
heart-piercing lamentations ever be a source of pleasure for others?

He himself confirms our opinion by way of a question to his beloved:

من غریب جو گشتم ز خویش بیگانه - چه حالت است که باخویشم آشنا نکنی
مرا چو از همه عالم نظر بجانب تست - نظر بسوی من خسته دل چرا نکنی
دیوان خواجو 124B

I the poor man who has become a stranger to myself,
What does it mean that you do not make friends with me at all?

از چنانکه زما نیل چون بخواهی راند - زدا بود بحدای درد و مران مار
وگر حکایت دل با تو شرح بایه داد - گمان مبر که بود حاجت زباں مارا

شدیم همچو میانست نجف و نتوان گفت - کہ نیست باکرت هیچ درمیاں مارا
گچے کزان لب شیریں سخن کند خواجو - ز نوش ناب لبالب شود دہاں مارا
حافظ

صبا بلطف بگو آن غزالِ رعنا را - کہ سر بکوه و بیا باں تو دادہ مارا
شکر فروش کہ عمرش دراز باد چرا - تفقد نکند طوطی شکر خارا
غروب حسن اجازت مگر ندارد گل - کہ پرستش نکنی عنده لب شیارا
بحسن خلق تو آن کرد صید اہل نظر - بہ بندہ دامن گیرند مرغ دانارا
جو با حبیب نشینی و بارہ ہمائی - بیاد آر حریفان باد ہما را
ندانم از چہ بس و نگ آشنائی نیست - تسبی قد آن سیم چشم ماہ ہما را
جز اینقدر نتوان گفت در جمال تو عیب - کہ خال مہر و وفا نیست رو زیارا
در آسمان چہ عجب گر ز گفتہ حافظ - سماع زہرہ بر قص آورده چارا
دیوان حافظ صغری

Khawājū

The faces of the friends when I cannot now see,
In no way for our friends, I have a tendency.
O rival do not dance, up to the door of death
No one with arms from the threshold can drive me.
By my friend's soul I will offer life indeed,
If it is so that the trial of my life will be.
I do not know how the foe-like sky did me deceive.
That it cast me off from my friends by treachery.
I of the faithlessness of the times was convinced,
I thought not of your separation verily.
When the real union of the soul has been achieved,
Of separations long time there is no grief to be.
When will the sword of death cut the link of the soul,
Our relation with you will be the same with glee.
If you shed the stream of my blood from me, 'tis meet,
But drive me not from your door, by Divinity.
If I have to explain my heart's story to you,
Don't think that I in need of the tongue will e'er be.
I have grown thin like to your waist, but I can't say,
That there is no relation betwixt your waist and me.
The time when Khawājū of those sweet red lips doth speak,
My mouth is full of the pure honey certainly.

Hāfiz.

O zephyr, say to that proud gazelle, verily,
That 'mongst the wastes and valleys you bewildered me.
The sugar-seller sweet, may be her life e'er long,
Addresseth not the sweet-tongued bird with sympathy.
O rose, the pride of beauty did permit you not,
That you should speak to the fond philomel with glee.
By conduct good the clear-sighted be caught, indeed,
The warbler wise can't be held by the snare you see.
When you are sitting with your friend and drinking wine,
Pray, then remember the friends who roam aimlessly.
I do not know why there is not the tinge of love,
To the black-eyed, Moon-browed, that cypress-statured be.
I can't see in your beauty, there's a spot but one,
Your face hath not the mole of sincerity.
'Tis not strange in the say with the verse of Hāfiz
In tune with the Venus, Jesus in rapture be.

There is pessimism pervading the poems of Khawājū, yet we find his own source of optimism concealed in it, if we try to fathom his attitude. In other words, the optimism of the people is pessimism pure and simple in his opinion. As he says:

۸۳
 ۱۸. B دیوان خواجہ ۱۸۸۸
 "مانہ بندہ اری کہ خواجہ باخ زرد است و بس۔۔۔ صبح روئے نیست کز چرخ سید و زرد نیست"

Lest you may think that Khwājū has a pale face and naught more
 There is no face which is not pale, due to the black-faced sky.

Really none is happy in the world. This opinion of our poet shows his
 true study of the human mind, as "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown."⁽¹⁾
 One who appears to be joyful to us, may have been trying to drive out of
 his mind that affliction which is eating into his heart through any
 means of recreation.

Taking the dark side of life, that which is pessimism according to
 the general opinion of the public, he extracts a gift of optimism for
 himself; as he says:

Fol. 138 A دیوان خواجہ

Fol. 108 B دیوان خواجہ

Although the hue of lovers all is like to saffron due to grief,
 We have found happiness, indeed, from the hue of saffron.

O heart do not be dim, my mind from the dark place
 Like to Khizar hath reached the water of life then.

What is pleasure to us is sorrow to him; as he himself says:-

شادی پیدا غم پنهانی است - منزل دانا ره نادانی است
 ۹۱ A دیوان خواجہ

The outward pleasure is the inward woe,
 The wise man's stage is ignorance, you know.

And what is sorrow to us, is pleasure to him, as he says so plainly:

Fol. 156 A دیوان خواجہ
 از سردار میندیش که در شکر عشق - غلم نفرت منصور بجزدار نبود

Do not think of the cross, for in the hosts of love,
 The flag of Mansūr's palm was not without the cross.

Khwājū's Outlook on Life. With this clear-cut view of Khwājū before us,
 it is quite suitable at this stage to describe his outlook on life. On
 the perusal of his works, we have come across a poem which serves our
 purpose most admirably. We reproduce it here:

بہار دہر بہارِ خزاں کے آرزو - چراغِ عمر بہارِ دُعا کے آرزو
 برو چو سرد خراماں شوا از رواں آزاد - کہ این حدیقہ بآبِ رواں کے آرزو
 شقائقِ جن بوستانِ سراے اعلیٰ - بخارِ خاشاکِ این فاکہ ان کے آرزو
 قرار گیر زمانے بلکہ روئے زمین - بہ بے قرارِ یہی دورِ زمان کے آرزو
 خلاص دہ زتن تیرہ روحِ قدسی را - کہ آں ہمائے بدیں امتحان کے آرزو
 سریرِ ملکوتِ دہ روزِ پیشِ اہلِ نظر - پیاسِ یکشبہ پاسِ بمان کے آرزو
 ز ثور و سنبلہ اعراض کن کہ فرمنِ ماہ - بلکہ برگِ رو کہ کشتان کے آرزو
 بدیں طبقہٴ نسیمیں دو قرصِ عالمِ تاب - بنزدِ عقلِ بیکتائے نان کے آرزو
 زبان بہ بندہ کہ دل بکشتایدت خواجہ - کہ ملکِ نطقِ بتیغِ زبان کے آرزو

Fol. 101 B دیوان خواجہ

Throughout this poem, he has a principle to propound in every line. (1)

Joy does stand a match for sorrow in this transitory life, (2) hence a
 man ought to cut short all the worldly ties here, (3) as, firstly, hope

① Henry IV, Part 2, Act III, Scene I, line 31.

and expectation are not worth while among these dangers, (4) and, secondly, authority is not worth while among these ups and downs of time, (5) it is proper to have purity of soul as the noble aim in life, (6) for the kingdom is of no avail as compared to the cares involved therein, (7) and the planets must be discredited altogether to gain our ends, (8) the revolutions of time must not disturb a wise man, (9) who bears all quite silently to widen his insight.

The Form of Khwājū's Lyrics. To give vent to his different ideas, he uses lyrics as the vehicle of his thoughts. Therein, he exhausts all the sources of this branch of poetry in pouring forth his mind. He writes a lyrical poem in the form of a dialogue imitating the form but not the matter of Unsūrī's Kāśīdā which begins thus:-

(1) گفتن نشان ده از دین تنگ دستان - گفتا ز نیست نیست نشان چها چها
The poem of Khwājū is reproduced here:-

گفتم که چرا صورتت از دیده پنهانست - گفتا که پری را چکنم رسم چنانست
گفتم که نقاب از رخ دلخواه بر افکن - گفتا مگر آرزوئی دیدن جانست
گفتم همه بیج است امیدم ز کنارت - گفتا که ترا نیز مگر میل میانست
گفتم که چها بر من دلتنگ چه تنگ است - گفتا که مرا همجو دلت تنگ دیانست
گفتم که بگو تا به هم جان گرامی - گفتا که ترا خود ز چها نقد بهمانست
گفتم که بیاتاکم رواں بر تو فشانم - گفتا که که امین که چه فرمائش بدانست
گفتم که چنانم که میرس از غم عشقت - گفتا که مرا باتو ارادت چنانست
گفتم که رفقا کعبه بمینا نه که اوست - گفتا که خمش این کوئے خرابات بهمانست
گفتم که چو خواجو نمر جان ز رفعت - گفتا برواے خام هنوزت غم جانست

Fol. 86.E دیوان خواجو

Hafiz

گفتم که خطا کردی و تیر بنه ایں بود - گفتا چه توان کرد که نقد بر چنین بود
گفتم که خدا داد مرادت بومالش - گفتا که مرادم بومالش نه بهیمن بود
گفتم که قرین بدت افکنه بدین روز - گفتا که مرا بخت بد خویش قرین بود
گفتم ز من اے ماه چرا مبر بریدی - گفتا که فلک بامین بد بهر بکس بود
گفتم که بے جام طرب خوردی از این پیش - گفتا که شفا در قمع باز پس بود
گفتم که تو اے عمر چرا زود برفتی - گفتا که فلانی چه کنم عمر بهیمن بود
گفتم که بے خط خطا بر تو کشیدند - گفتا همه آن بود که بر لوح جبین بود
گفتم که نه وقت سفرت بود چنین زود - گفتا که مگر مصلحت وقت چنین بود
گفتم که ز حافظ بچہ علت شده دور - گفتا که همه وقت مرا داعیه ایں بود

دیوان خواجو ص ۱۵۴

Further, he attempted a lyrical poem which ended in a *Kasīda*. It is reproduced along with a poem of *Hāfiz*'s. The "*Lisān-ul-Ghaib*" seems to have imitated him:-

خیمہ نور بر صحرا زدند - چار طاقی بل بر خار ا زدند
لاگم منگر کہ گوئی عرشیاں - کرسی از یاقوت بر مینا زدند
کار داران بیمار از زر گل - آل زر بر رقعہ خضر ا زدند
از حرم طارم نشینان چمن - خرگہ و گل ریز بر صحرا زدند
گو شہا باغ ز آب چشم ابر - خند با بر چشمہاے ما زدند
مطربان با مرغ ہم دستاں ٹوند - عند لیباں ہر دہ عقازدند
طوطیاں با طبع خواجہ گاہ نطق - طعنیا بر بلبل گویا زدند
در صوائے مجلس جنبہ عید - غفل اندر طارم اعلا زدند
باد نور و زش ہمایوں کیں ندا - قدسیان در عالم بالا زدند

دیوان خواجہ

They in the vale pitched the tent of the New Year's Day
The red tents of the tulips grew 'midst the stones aye.
Look at the tulips, say the angels of the sky
Set the chair of red gems on the blue sky away.
The workers of the spring set up the canopies
Of the pale flowers' gold on the green vale each day.
The dwellers of the Haram's roof in the fair vale,
Pitched in the mead the canopies of silk so gay.
The corners of the vale laughed at our eyes, 'tis so,
Due to the tears of the clouds of the eyes, away.
The musicians were singing in tune with the birds,
The note of "Ankā" then the philomels did play.
The parrots with Khwājū at the time of their speech,
The taunts upon the singing philomel did lay.
For the aim of the court of Jamshīd of the times,
They raised great tumult that reached the vaulted skies grey.
"The New Year's Day be blest to you", the angels all
Above the sky in a loud voice would ever pray.

Hāfiz.
باز آئے دول تنگ مرا موسیٰ جاں باش - وی سوختہ را فخرم اسرار نہان باش
ز ان بادہ کہ در مصطفیٰ عشق فرو شد - مارا دوسہ ساغر نبدہ و گوہر حسان باش
در خر قہر جوں آتش زدی اے عارف سالک - جہدے کن در حلقہ ورنہ ان چہان باش
ایں یار کہ گفتا بہ تو ام دل نگرانت - گو میرسم اکتوں بسلامت نگران باش
خون شد دلم از صرست آں لعل روان بخش - اے درج محبت بہماں ہر و نشان باش
تا بردیش از غصہ غبارے نہ نشیند - اے پیل سرشک از عقب نامہ روان باش

حافظ کہ ہوس میکندش جام جہان میں
گو در نظر آصف جنبہ مکان باش
دیوان حافظ ص ۲۶

Come back and be the bosom friend of this close heart, my dear,
And know the secrets of the burnt in a way that is clear.
From that wine which they ever sell from the tavern of love,
Let me have two or three cups, pray; though Ramazan is here.
O holy hermit, when you have set all your cloak on fire,
Try and be head of all the free men of the worldly sphere.
That friend who did address me so? "My heart doth gaze at you",
Say unto her, "Keep gazing on! I come safe free from fear.
My heart is wounded by the grief of those life-giving lips,
O pretty casket of love to that sign and seal adhere.
So that the dust of wrath may not now settle on love's heart,
O flood of tears keep flowing on now in the letter's rear.
Hāfiz who ever loves to have the world-revealing cup,
Say to him, "Live 'fore Āṣaf who's in rank to Jamshīd near."

Still again he wrote many poems in the form of "*mulammā*". We reproduce the poems of Khwājū and *Hāfiz* in this form of poetry:

طوباک اے پیک صبا خرم رسیدی مَرَجَبَا - بامشہ قل لِحْشَا شَعْبِي مَا بَالُ رَبِّكَ قَدْ سَرِي
یاران نہ ارفقند و من در بحر خون افتاده ام - طَرْفِي عَلَى بِهْرَةِ انْهَمُ بَيْتِي وَمَا تُغْنِي الْبُكَ
بار سفر لبندد ما چون صید وحشی پا بند - سَارُوا دَرْمَنَ اَمَاتِنَا اَجْرُوا سِنَابِجَ الدَّمَا
انتال د خیزان میر دم تاکے رسم بر کادان - وَالرَّبِّبُ قَدْ سَارُوا اِلَى الْاَلْبَابِ وَالْحَادِي حُدَا
محل بروں بردند و من چون ناقہ میر اندم زپے - قَلْبِي بِرَايِ فِي هَوَاةٍ وَاللَّهُ نَعْمُ مُلْقِي فِي الْهَوَايِ
چوں تیرہ بنو روز من کنز آہ عالم سوز من - مَدَّ الرِّغَامُ سُرَادًا اَعْلَى سَمَارِ بَيْعِ الدُّرَايِ
راخی شہم کنز کاروان بانگِ دُرَاے لبخوم - اَبْرَأُ وَ اَتَحْفُوْا اَشْرَهُمْ وَالْعَيْشُ تَهْدِي فِي الرَّمْلِ
چوں محل سلطان شرق از سوختم آمد بروں - رَيْحُ الْعَبَا سَارَتْ اِلَى بَيْتِي وَ قَلْبِي قَدْ صَبَا
خواجہ شہید از سوا ہر دم نوایے زہر - وَالْوَرَقُ اَوْ رَاقِ الْمُنَى تَتَلَوْنَ عَلَى اَهْلِ الْهَوَايِ

دیوان خواجہ

سبب سلجی بہ صد غنیا قوادی - دروجی کل یوم لے مینادی
خدا را بر من بیدل بختاے - و اوصلے علی رغم الاعلائی
امن انکر تنی عن حب سلجی - غریق العشق فی بحر الودائی
نگارا در غم سوداے عشقت - تو کلنا علی رب العبادی
دل حافظ شد اندر زمین زلفت
بلبل منظم واللہ ہادی

دیوان خطہ ص ۳۶۷

Moreover, he composed a lyrical poem in the form of a love-letter. It runs as follows:-

آیا صبا گرت افتد بگوے دوست گذار - نیاز مند بی من عرصہ دہ بکھڑت یار
ہوس خاکِ درش دانکہ از مجال بود - سلام بگرساں و پیام من بگزار
بگو کہ اے مہ نامہربان مہر گسل - نگار لالہ رخ سرو قد سیم عذار
دل شکستہ کہ در زلف دلگشتہ ہستم - بیاد کار من خستہ دل نہ مہ عذار
مرا زمانہ زیبہ مہری از تو دور افکند - زہے زمانہ بد مہر و حجب کثر رفتار
نہودمے نفسی بے نوائی نغمہ زبیر - کنوں ہزار بیٹے زارم ترس نالہ زار
نہ ہمدے کہ بر آرم وے مگر نالہ - نہ محرمے کہ بگویم غمے مگر دیوار
شے کہ روز کنم بے تو از پریشانی - شود چو زلف سیاہ تو از زین شب تار
فراق نامہ خواجہ کسے کہ بر خواند
بامبر دیدہ بشوید سیاحی از طومار

دیوان خواجہ

O zephyr, if you have to pass through the beloved's street,
I do beseech you ever so with due respects her greet.
Pray, kiss her door, if at that time, you can permission win,
Say unto her, "Good morning", then with this message her meet,
"You're the unkind and Moon-faced one, but you break your love vow,
With the silvery cheeks, cypress-size, tulip-like face sweet;
My broken heart which I did tie with your alluring lock,
In memory to the love-lorn, pray, keep it safe, 'tis meet.
The times have cast me far from you because of faithlessness,
Bravo! the times that break the pledge, the sky with the lame feet!
I was not for a moment free from songs sung in low tunes,
But now I am united with the tears and groans, my sweet;
I have no friend to speak to now but the bewailings here,

I have no confidant, my grief but doth the wall e'er greet.
Without you through perplexity my night dawns on the day,
My days are black in darkness now, they your black locks do meet".
One who will read the letter of Khwājū so full of grief,
With the tears of his eyes will wash the blackness from the sheet.

Hafiz
صبا اگر کز دری افتد بکشور دوست - بیار نفحه از گیسو معنبر دوست
بجان او که بشکرانه جان برافشایم - اگر بسوی من آری پیای از بر دوست
در چنانچه در آن حضرت نباشد یار - برے دیدہ بیاد رنبار از در دوست
من گدا و تمنائے وصل او بیہیات - مگر بخواب بہ بینج جمال و منظر دوست
دل صنوبریم، بچو بہ لرزانست - ز مرمت قد و بالائے چوں صنوبر دوست
اگرچہ دوست بچید غی خرد مارا - بعالیٰ نغز و شیم موے از سر دوست
چہ باشد ار شود از قید غم دلش آزاد - چو بہت حافظ مسکین غلام چاکر دوست دیوان مظاہر ۵۵

O zephyr, if you visit e'er the clime of my friend dear
Bring fragrance from her curly lock which ambergris is mere.
By her life, in gratitude, I'll sacrifice my life,
If from my love you bring a word, which is so sweet to hear.
If you are permitted not in her presence to go,
Then for my eyes' antimony, pray, bring her door's dust mere.
O pity, I'm the beggar of her union's desire,
Perhaps, I may dream of her grace and beauty without peer.
My pine-like heart doth ever beat like to the willow tree,
In the regret of my friend's size that's tall like the fir here.
Although, the friend doth not accept to buy me e'en for naught,
One hair of the friend's head, I wot sell for the world, 'tis clear.
It matters not, if from the gaol of grief his heart be free,
For Hāfiz is the servant poor, indeed, to his friend dear.

the words of Hāfiz, as they have been already quoted above, Sādī
is the expert master of odes, but our poet cut new ground altogether in
introducing archaic words in the classical Persian after the style of Bābā
Āhir. Ūryān. Here is the reproduction of a poem to bear evidence to
Khwājū's use of obsolete words as well, while beauty and grace lie in the
fact of his using them in such an amusing manner:-

دیم از دور بے کاکلش مشکینک - دھش تنگ و چون تنگ شکر کہ شیرینک
لبک لعل دیوان پورکش جان بخشک - سرک زلفک عنبر شکنش مشکینک
در سخن لعلک در پورکش او در پاشک - برہن سنبل ہرچینک او ہرچینک
چشمکش مجھو دل رشک من بیارک - دستگان کردہ بخون دکنم رنگینک
بہت مر جان مرا قوت زمر جانک او - ۱۷ در بیجا کہ بنودے دکنش و تنگینک
نرکش مشک و عاشق کشک و خون خوارک - سببش بشک و شوریدک و ہرچینک
زلفکش دکنش و غرہ کشک دلہورک - برکش نازکک و ساعد کشک سببک
گفتش در غم عشقت دل خواجو خون شد - بیش ازین صبرگو چند کند مشکینک
رفت در خندہ و شیریں لبک از ہم بکشود - گفت داروئے دل و مرہم جان اینک

نہ در اصل محض نرکش

دیوان خواجو 163 E, 164 A

بابا طاهر
دلادر عشق تو صد دفترستم - کہ صد دفتر ز کویں از برستم
منم آن بلبل گل ناکشگفتہ - کہ آذر درتہ خاکستم
دلہم سو جہ ز غصہ و ربریشہ - جفاے دوست را خواہاں ترستم
مواں عودم میاں آتشقاں - کہ این تہ آسمانہا مجرستم

شہ از نیل غم دما تم دلم فوں - پچھرہ خوشتر از نیلو فرستم
 در این الہ در کوشش چون گلخن - بداغ دل چو سوزاں اخترستم
 نہ زورستم کہ باد شمن ستیزم - نہ بہر دوستان سیم وزرستم
 ز دوراں گرچہ ہر بے جام عیشم - ولے بے دوست خونین ہواں فرستم
 حرم دایم درین مرزو در کشت - کہ مرغ خوشگر باغ دہرستم
 منہ طاہر کہ از عشق نکویاں - ولے لبریز خون اندر ہرستم

بہنہ شال ولے پوشم قدک را - بنازم گردش چرخ و فلک را
 بگردم آبدریا سراسر - بشویم صر دوست بے نمک را

Theme of Love. We have discussed at length the forms of lyrics which Khwājū adopted to pour forth his heart, now we turn to the main theme of love couched in those lyrics. Here, it is not inappropriate to repeat at first what Maulānā Shiblī says about sentimentalism in the *Shir-ul-Ajam*, Vol. II, page 70, under the heading of "An Ode".

(1) "The Turk slaves attended each and every house. They moved in society both public and private. The majority of the poets were devoted to these slaves and mentioned them among their sentimental poems." Again, discussing the contrast between the poetry of the Arabs and the Persians, he writes under the heading "A Short Review of Persian Poetry", Vol. IV, page 178, para. 3, (2) "In Arabia, they woo a woman, hence all kinds of true sentiments can be expressed. In Persian there are beardless lads in place of women, hence many improper subjects have been produced."

With due deference to his eminent position as a great scholar of the modern era, we beg to differ from his remarks as to the person addressed in the sentimental poetry of Persia. We defend our poet and say that his love was perfectly natural as a man ought to love a woman. In this statement of ours, we not only mean to defend our poet in his own words, but, with all the force at our command, we also desire to remove this charge of "unnatural love" from the records of Persian poetry.

In the very beginning, we quote many couplets of Khwājū to prove that his love was quite natural. More than this, he was successful in washing off this blemish of "unnatural love" from the records of Persian poetry, as the Venerable Maulānā Sāhib of blessed memory wrote. The couplets of Khwājū run as follows:-

آن ماہ ہری رخ را در خانہ نخی بستم - ویں طرفہ کہ بے رویش کا شانہ نخی بستم
 دیوان خواجو

(1) ترک غلام مگر گھر کے لئے ہوئے تھے اور خلوت میں شریک محبت تھے اکثر شعرا ان غلاموں کے شیفہ تھے اور عقیدہ استوار میں انہی کا ذکر کرتے تھے
 (2) عرب میں عورت سے عشق کرتے ہیں اس لئے ہر قسم کے بے جذبات ادا ہو سکتے ہیں۔ ایران میں عورت کے بجائے امارویں - طاسے بہت لائے اور ان مصائب میں بیہوش ہو گئے۔

بہ فردوسم مکن دعوت کہ ہے آں حور میسر - کیے کو آدمی باشد بخوابد باغ رضواں را
 دیوان خواجہ 135 B
 کوئی سب سے من چوں ز شہستان بندر آید - خورنیت نہ از روضہ رضواں بد را آید
 دیوان خواجہ 154 B
 من نہ آنم کہ ز کوشش بجفا برگردم - نگر بر آند ز در آں حور پیری زاو مرا
 دیوان خواجہ 161 A
 چوں دل قبح بخند ز شراب ناروائی - دل خستہ چوں خکیمہ ز تباہ نارپستان
 دیوان خواجہ 215 B

1. That fairy-faced Moon I do not see in the house there,
 'Tis strange that I without her face for the house do not care.
2. Without that Moon-faced houri don't invite me into heav'n,
 That one who is a man cannot desire then Paradise.
3. Out of her sleeping room when comes my pretty sweet-heart, aye,
 She is a houri who comes out of Paradise, you say.
4. I'm not the man to leave her street through tyranny,
 If drives me from her door that fairy-born houri.
5. When the heart of the cup laughs filled with the pomegranate wine,
 The sick heart can't forbear the sweets of the pomegranate breasts.

We are sure we are right in saying that our poet means the lady-love through his lyrical poems, as is shown by the above couplets. If a question is raised to refute us by pointing out that the "fairy-faced Moon" and the "houris" are used metaphorically to mean the same person as pointed out in the words of the Maulānā, then we invite our readers' attentions to the last couplet on the Fol. 215b. Is our poet not direct in convincing critics by using the phrase "pomegranate breasts"?

On the evidence of the above convincing statement, if anybody does not accept this argument, then let us trace out whether or not Rudagī indulged in sentimental love for lads as stated by the Maulānā. In response to this, we refer our readers to the poem of Rudagī quoted in the beginning of this chapter. In the third couplet of the same poem Rudagī says:-

Like to the torn-out pomegranate, my heart is full of fire
 Since I gave my heart to the sweet of the pomegranate breasts.

Still again, Sādī, one of the greatest poets of Persia, writes the

word "mā shūkah" - a female - in the following couplet:
 غیرت لنگہ ارد کہ بگویم کہ مرا گشت - تا خلق ندانند کہ معشوقہ کد ام است
 دیوان سادہ 192 A
 Moreover, Hāfiz, uses the word "mā shūkah" in the following couplets:-
 حافظ بنشیں بے مے و معشوقہ زمانے - کا یام گل و یاسمن و عید صیام است
 دیوان حافظ 139 A
 بخت حافظ گرازیں گو نہ بدد خواہد کرد - زلف معشوقہ بدست و گراں خواہد بود
 دیوان حافظ 94 A

In the above couplets (a), (b), and (c), the word "mā shūkah" absolutely stands for a female, in the same way as the compound word "nār-pistān" indicates a lady.

Furthermore, we strengthen our statement by the quotation of Hāfiz and the translation of the same by Clark, as follows:-

فغان کیں رویاں شوخ میتریں کار شہر آشوب - چناں بردند صبر از دل کہ ترکان خواہد بیخارا

Alas! These saucy dainty ones (lovely women) sweet of work, torment of the city,

Take patience from the heart even as men of Tūrkistān (take) the tray of plunder.

These couplets of the poets of established reputation and unimpeachable authority shed a flood of light upon our statement that the Persian poets cultivated natural love like the Arab poets. If there is anything of the sort as the Maulānā^{Sāhib} says, then it must have been poured forth by irresponsible poets whose vice died with themselves like mushrooms.

Under these circumstances, if the admirers of the Maulānā^{Sāhib} persist in holding to his statement, then we are prepared to prove in the words of the Maulānā^{Sāhib} himself that the poets of confirmed authority in Persia depicted natural love.

Firstly, our Maulānā quotes a poem of Rudagī with the following couplet therein in the Shīr-ul-Ājam, Vol I, page 33:-

ہے خرید و ہے ریخت بے شمار درم - بہ شہر ہر چہ ہے ترک نارستان بود

He spent the coins all over and bought in the town
The Turkish women of the pomegranate breasts there.

In the foot-note No.1 of the above page on the compound word "nārpistān" (pomegranate breasts), our Maulānā writes, "It is a blessing that in spite of his being a Persian poet, he means a woman in place of a man". In the presence of these words of the Maulānā^{Sāhib}, it is needless to remark that Rudagī laid the foundation of this kind of verse upon pure and natural love of a man for a woman. If some poets (if there are any according to the remarks of our Maulānā^{Sāhib}) misused their divine gift of versification, then they are to be blamed and not Persian poetry which is as pure as it ought to be from such a nefarious element as has been attributed to it.

(2) Secondly, our Maulānā Sāhib writes in the Shīr-ul-Ājam, Vol.1, page 315, thus:-

Nizāmī is the inventor of this charm and subtlety of similes and metaphors. (b)

In the same strain, he quotes this couplet of Nizāmī's (Shīr-ul-Ājam Vol.I page 317):

سمنبر غافل از نظارہ شاہ - کہ سنبل بستہ بد بر نرگش راہ

The jessamine-bosomed missed the king's sight eye
The hyacinth shut the narcissus-way.

and he writes its explanation thus (Vol.I, page 317):

(3) It is the description of that time when Shīrīn was taking a bath and she had let loose her locks over her face. The couplet means that Shīrīn was not conscious of the sight of Khusrau, because the hyacinth had intervened between the passage of narcissus.

We understand quite clearly from the above quotations of the Maulānā that

(1) غنیمت ہے کہ ایرانی شاعر ہر مرد کے بجائے عورت کا نام لیتا ہے۔ اس لطافت اور لطیفہ کی اس لطافت اور نازکیت کے موجب نظامی
(2) یہ اس وقت کا بیان ہے کہ شیرین نہایت ہی تھکی ہوئی تھی اور نہ تو اس کو چہرہ پر چھوڑ دیا تھا بغیر کا مطلب ہے کہ شیرین کو خوسرو کے زمانے کی خبر نہ تھی اور نہ ہی اس کا ہرگز کا ہرگز
(3) یہ اس وقت کا بیان ہے کہ شیرین نہایت ہی تھکی ہوئی تھی اور نہ تو اس کو چہرہ پر چھوڑ دیا تھا بغیر کا مطلب ہے کہ شیرین کو خوسرو کے زمانے کی خبر نہ تھی اور نہ ہی اس کا ہرگز کا ہرگز

Khvāja Nizāmī, the greatest romantic poet of Persia, invented the similes and metaphors for his heroines and in this case applied one to Shīrīn, a woman, strange to say, as our Maulānā^{Shirīn} himself points out. Dr Steingass translates "samanbar" into "jessamine-bosomed" (1). Is it not still an evident indication and convincing illustration of our statement that, ignoring altogether the irresponsible poets or rather the poetasters, Persian poetry abounds in natural love indeed! and, in no way less, in the lyrics of Khwājū.

Although, there are many poems of Khwājū which are sentimental, for example when he bursts out in the days of his youth:

دیران خواجو ۱۱۴
غنیمت شمر عیش را با لوزجوانان - که چون شد دگر باز نایب جوانی

Think it a gift when you make merry with the young,
When youth has passed, it never will come back again.

yet these sentimental poems were not based on any sensual indulgence. His aim is made evident in his own words, that by liquor he did not mean this intoxicating wine:

برده ساقی آن خروانی قبح - که دل را بیفراید از وسع فرح
مراد از قبح باده سرمدی است - و زان باده مقصود ما بے خوری است
بها و بیا یوں ص لم م

O cup-bearer the kingly cup give me,
My heart derives from it delight and glee.
By liquor I mean the Eternal wine,
Which is 'unconsciousness', an aim of mine!

By 'lady' he did not mean to woo any lady but rather he interprets the person he addresses in verse in this way:-

نظر به عین طبیعت مکن که از خویان - مراد اصل نظر اتصال روحانیت

مپوش چهره که از ظلمت تو خواجرا - غرض مطالعہ ستر صبح یزدانیت
دیران خواجو ۱۱۶

Don't look at nature in the sweethearts dear,
The aim, in real, is the union of soul.
Don't veil your face from Khwājū, for he has
The study of God's secret arts his goal.

After this convincing proof of his clear record, if for the sake of argument we assume that he indulged in sentimental poetry, then our poet showed love for hatred, patience for cruelty, humility for pride, politeness for wrath and what not. This goes to prove that he understood the Science of Ethics or Conduct. He acted upon it and controlled vice by virtue in order to create harmony in actions. Says Lao-tze, "To those who are good, I am good; and to those who are not good, I am also good; and thus all get to be good. To those who are sincere, I am sincere; and to those who are not sincere, I am also sincere; and thus all get to be sincere." (2)

A Comprehensive Persian - English Dictionary, p. 697 by Dr. Steingass (1)

An Advanced Text Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics, p. 398, Benares, 1905. (2)
Published by the Board of Trustees,
Central Hindu College, Benares.

The mirror bright of your mind from the two world's hue washed be.
So that the dwellers of the heav'ns enjoy your face's grace,
Behind the bright sun of the world shine like the fair Moon free.
So break the claws of your own self with the contentment's arms,
Mortification's stick will win the game's ball certainly.
The lyre is placed there on the lap and played upon by all,
For like the flute it produceth not at each breath melody.
From the breath of Khwājū's inhale the aloes' scent away,
Because the breath of the burnt cheers the soul inspiringly.

سعدی

از جان بردن نیامده جانانت آرزوست - ز نار نا بریده و ایمانت آرزوست
بر در گنجی که لایبت "آرنی" بے زنده - مورے نہ ملک سلیمان آرزوست
فرعون وار لاف "انا الحق" بے زنی - و آنگاه قرب موتی عمرانت آرزوست
مرد نہ مودعت مردے نکرده - و آنگاه صف صفت مردانت آرزوست
جو کو دکان که دامن خود اسپ کرده اند - دامن سوار گشته و میه انت آرزوست
انصاف راه خود ز سر صدق داده - بر درد نارسیه و درمانت آرزوست
امساک نفس میکنی اش نام و پر نفس - صد گونه از طعم تو بر خوانت آرزوست
بر خوان عنکبوت که بر بیان مگس بود - شهیدت جبرئیل مگس رانت آرزوست
بر روز از برای سبب نیل و معیه - یک کاسه شوربا و ووتا نانت آرزوست

از آنکه ببردن جانانت آرزوست
بر در گنجی که لایبت "آرنی" بے زنده
فرعون وار لاف "انا الحق" بے زنی
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امساک نفس میکنی اش نام و پر نفس
بر خوان عنکبوت که بر بیان مگس بود
بر روز از برای سبب نیل و معیه

کلیات سعدی (طبعیت) صفحہ ۱۲-۱۵

سعدی در این جہاں کہ توئی ذرہ وار باش
گردل بہ نزد حضرت سلطانت آرزوست
Sādi

You are alive and still desire your sweetheart so to say,
The sacred thread you do not cut and wish for faith away.
At the court where the drum they beat of "Let me see Thee", so
You are not like an ant, you wish for Solomon's realm eye.
Like Pharaoh you do ever boast, "I am the Truth," and yet
For nearness of 'Imrān's Moses, you eagerly do pray.
You're not a man, you have not served at any time a man,
The Ahl-i-Suffa's rank (so strange!), but still desire you may.
Like to the children who do make the horse of their own skirt
You ride the steed of your own skirt, wish for the battle-day.
The path of justice you have left, it is sincerely so,
You know not pain, long for its cure, your folly you betray.
You call it abstinence, indeed, and still at every time,
One hundred kinds of food you like to place on your own tray.
Upon the spider's table when the roasted fly is placed,
The feather of Gabriel you long for such a petty prey!
The doggish nature of yourself, known as "Abū Saīd",
The cup of soup, two loaves of bread, you long for it each day.
O Sādi, in this world you must like to an atom be,
If in the presence of the Lord you want a pure mind eye.

Along with other things, his Muse instructed the people to develop the love of nature as well. He says thus:-

دوش بر طرف چمن زمزمه فاخته بود - قمری از پرده عشاق نوا ساخته بود
راستی سرو خرامان علم افروخته بود - بلبل دلشده آواز در انداخته بود
کہ سرا پرده گل باز بھر ازده اند
تو شکر خندہ گل بی کہ بشیریں کاری - ے کند لاله دل سوخته رادلہ اری
گردل لاله و میل گل خندہ اں داری - خیز کز برگ شقائق بچن پنداری
تخت یا قوت بریں طایم خفا زده اند
چاک زرد باد صبا پیرهن پارہ گل - خون شد از ازار ے بدل دل بیچارہ گل
چشم نرس بکشد دند بنظارہ گل - تا بر افروخته اند آتش رضارہ گل
آتش ماند جگر لاله حرا زده اند
بلبلان کمر از جام صوفی مستند - ے پرستان بحر خیز بے بنشند
تربہ زاهد سجاده نشین بکشدند - کوہ راتا کمر از لاله حرا بستند

(1) 92

Says Jesus Christ: "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

This high ideal of love sets an example of the Science of Conduct for the Construction of society. If any man of average knowledge cannot follow his higher philosophy in love, then the blame must not be laid at the door of our poet. He courted pain but he taught happiness; as

he says:-

دامن گردوں پر از خون جگر سیم به صبح - بسکه از مهر تو اشک از چشمم افتد بکده دیوان خواجہ

I see at morn the heaven's skirt contains the liver's blood,
The eyes of the star in your love shed much the tears aright.

To bear evidence to our theory of conduct, he wrote the Rauza-tul-Anvār and the Kamāl Nāmā dealing with views of higher philosophy. Moreover, he attempted didactic poems also. He tried to be sermonizing. He fails to reach the position of Sādī. As for instance, in the following poems of Khwājū and Sādī, the Shaikh takes into consideration both the bright and dark sides of life and teaches purity of mind. Quite contrary to this, Khwājū teaches purity of mind through the dark side of life only thus:-

باز ہر منہ کہ ہر دست شاہان دارد جائے - نیست در سایہ اش آں فکر کہ در ظل ہائے
ہر کہ زیں گنبد گردنہ کنایہ گرفت - چوں ماہ نوبہہ شہر شد انگشت نما
اے کہ امر و زماںک بتو آراستہ است - ملک را چوں تو بیا دست بے ملک آراے
ہر کف خاک کہ بر عرصہ دشتی بینی - رخ ماہی بود و فرقی نیچے عالی راے
لشہ و ملک شاہی جدا باز گذشت - آں کہ مے گفت منم ہر مکان بار خداے
گر تو خواہی کہ شہاں تاج سرت گردانند - کار درویش چو خلیفہ میفکن در پائے
تا نظر کاہ الہی شودت منظر دل - رنگ کونین تو از آئینہ خاطر بزدائے
تا مقیمان فلک شادین رویت تو فزاید - از مے ہر جہاں، پنچو قمر بسز برائے
پنچہ نفس مبارک و قناعت بشکن - گوئے مقصود پنچو گاہ ریاضت ہر باے
جنگ از آں رو تو از بندش و در بر گیرند - کہ ہر باد ہواے نخر و شد چو ناے
بوئے عود از دم جہاں پرور خواجہ بشنو
زانکہ باشد نفس سوختگان روح فراے

دیوان خواجہ
126 B

Although the hawk sits on the hands of the king happily,
Its shade wants that grace which is in the Phoenix's shade to be.
That one who has turned off his face from the revolving sky,
Like the crescent is pointed out in each city with glee.
Although the country is managed to-day by you so well,
Like you the potentates so great it hath in memory.
Each handful of dust that you see on the face of the plain,
Is the moon-like face, the King's head that thought high verily.
He passed away, the kingdom left for the Most High Allah,
He himself called the lord of the kings of authority.
If you desire the kings might make you the crown of their heads,
Do not throw like to the anklet the poor man's work, you see.
So that the vision of your mind be the Divine landscape,

The mirror bright of your mind from the two world's hue washed be.
So that the dwellers of the heav'ns enjoy your face's grace,
Behind the bright sun of the world shine like the fair Moon free.
So break the claws of your own self with the contentment's arms,
Mortification's stick will win the game's ball certainly.
The lyre is placed there on the lap and played upon by all,
For like the flute it produceth not at each breath melody.
From the breath of Khwājū's inhale the aloes' scent away,
Because the breath of the burnt cheers the soul inspiringly.

سعدی

از جاں بردن نیامده جانانت آرزوست - زنا را نابریده و ایمانت آرزوست
بر در گنجی که لایبت "ارنی" بے زمند - مورت نه و ملک سلیمانیت آرزوست
فرعون وار لاف "انا الحق" بے زنی - و آنگاه قرب موی عیرانت آرزوست
مرد نه و خدمت مردے نکردم - و آنگاه صف صف مردانت آرزوست
چو کودکان که دامن خود اسپ کرده اند - دامن سوار گشته و میدانت آرزوست
انصاف راه خود ز سر صدق داده - بر درد نار سیده و درمانت آرزوست
اسکاف نفس میکنی اش نام و هر نفس - صد گونه از طعم تو بر خوانت آرزوست
بر خوان عنکبوت که بر بیان نگس بود - شمشیر جبرئیل و نگس رانت آرزوست
بر در از برای سگایلو معیبه - یک کاسه شور با و ووتا نانت آرزوست

زنا را نابریده و ایمانت آرزوست

کلیات سعدی (طبع ۱۳۱۲-۱۵)

سعدی در این جهان که تویی ذره وار باش
گر دل به نزد حضرت سلطانت آرزوست
Sādi

You are alive and still desire your sweetheart so to say,
The sacred thread you do not cut and wish for faith alway.
At the court where the drum they beat of "Let me see Thee", so
You are not like an ant, you wish for Solomon's realm aye.
Like Pharaoh you do ever boast, "I am the Truth," and yet
For nearness of 'Imrān's Moses, you eagerly do pray.
You're not a man, you have not served at any time a man,
The Ahl-i-Suffa's rank (so strange!), but still desire you may.
Like to the children who do make the horse of their own skirt
You ride the steed of your own skirt, wish for the battle-day.
The path of justice you have left, it is sincerely so,
You know not pain, long for its cure, your folly you betray.
You call it abstinence, indeed, and still at every time,
One hundred kinds of food you like to place on your own tray.
Upon the spider's table when the roasted fly is placed,
The feather of Gabriel you long for such a petty prey!
The doggish nature of yourself, known as "Abū Saīd",
The cup of soup, two loaves of bread, you long for it each day.
O Sādi, in this world you must like to an atom be,
If in the presence of the Lord you want a pure mind aye.

Along with other things, his Muse instructed the people to develop the love of nature as well. He says thus:-

دوش بر طرف چمن زمزمه فافته بود - قمری از پرده عشاق نوا ساخته بود
راستی سرو خرامان علم افراشته بود - بلبل دلشده آواز در انداخته بود
که سرا پرده گل باز بصر ازده اند
تو شکر خنده گل بی که بشیرس کاری - عی کنده لاله دلسوخته رادله اری
گردل لاله و میل گل خنده اری - خیز کز برگ شقائق بچمن پنداری
تخت یا قوت بری طایم خفا زده اند
چاک زرد باد صبا پیرهن پاره گل - خون شه از ازار بیست بدل دل بیچاره گل
چشم نرگس بکشد دند بنظاره گل - تا بر افروخته اند آتش رضاره گل
آتش ماند جگر لاله حرا زده اند
بطلان کمر از جام صوفی مستند - عی پرستان بحر خیز بے بنشند
توبه ز راه سجاده نشین بشکند - کوه راتا کمر از لاله حرا بستند

دقت آن شد که زکاشانه بستان بوی - جامے نوشی و گل چینی و سنبل بوی
 همجو خواب و صحن گلستان بوی - کہ بطرف من از لاله و ریحان گوئی
 طعنه بر منید مکر تر کش جو زارده اند
 رقم از غایب بر صحنه دسارده اند

The dove's song was in the vale yesternight,
 The turtle sang the *ushshāk'* tune aright,
 The crazy nightingale sang in delight -
 They pitched the flowers' tents in the vale fair.
 Look at the blooming rose with its smile sweet
 That e'er consoles the tulip burnt so meet;
 The bright rose and the tulip, if you greet,
 Hark! With the tulips' leaves in the vale's seat
 They placed the red throne on the green roof there.
 The zephyr tore the flowers' cloak, away,
 The warblers' cries rent the roses' heart aye,
 The narcissus oped eyes for the sight gay,
 Since the fire of the rose's cheek burnt, say,
 Now fire in the red tulip's heart doth glare.
 The warblers of the morn with wine are mad,
 The toppers say at morn with liquor glad,
 The saints retired to their oaths farewell bade,
 The mountains to the middle tulips had,
 At the Twin's quiver-belt to taunt they dare.
 Now leave the house and to the valley go,
 Drink wine, pick rose, smell hyacinth bravo!
 Like Khwājū find the mead, the cups that glow,
 The tulip, basil plants in the vale grow,
 Now with the scents the earth is decked so fair.

During the course of his lesson for the love of nature, as he knew the
 oriental mind and especially the worshippers of fire, the Sun and the Moon
 in Persia, he warned his readers against the worship of the heavenly bodies
 to differentiate between love and worship. Love cultivates virtue and
 worship inculcates vice. In order to show how to avoid vice, we reproduce
 a poem here, as this aspect of life demands great importance in the opinion
 of our poet:

روضہ ظہر بریں بستان سراے بیش نیست - طوطی خوش خواں دگر دستاں سراے بیش نیست
 گنبد گردندہ پیروزہ یعنی آسمان - در جہان آفرینش آسیاے بیش نیست
 بگذر از کیواں کہ ایں ہندوئے پیر ساخورد - با علوقہ و تمکین بر بہاے بیش نیست
 قاضی دیوان اعلیٰ را کہ خوانی مشتری - در حقیقت چوں بہ بینی پارساے بیش نیست
 صفدر فیض کو اکب گر چہ تر کے پُر دل است - نام آن خوانی مبر گو بہ نقاے بیش نیست
 قیصر قصر زبرجد را کہ شاہ انجم است - گر بہ انی روشن او ہم بے حیاے بیش نیست
 مطرب بر بطن لوز مجلس سیارگان - در گلستان فلک بلبل نواے بیش نیست
 آصف ثانی پیرا خوانی دبیر چرخ را - زانکہ او در کوئے دانش کہ خداے بیش نیست
 شہرہ شہرست مہ در راہ پیمائی و لیک - بر سر میدان قدرت باد پامے بیش نیست
 حاجت از حق خواجہ زانکہ ملک ہر دو کون - با وجود چو در حاجت رواے بیش نیست

The garden of heav'n is no more than a vale we see here,
 The singing parrot is no more than a sweet chanticleer.
 The vault that doth revolve above the emerald-like sky,
 Is not more than the mill 'midst all the universe, 'tis clear.
 Give Saturn up, because this slave, so old, of ages long,
 With all its pomp is no more than a goat in price not dear.
 That Jupiter which is the judge of the High Court of heav'n,

Is no more than a hermit, aye, if you look at it clear.
 The victor of the troops of stars, though fighter is he brave,
 Don't talk of that, the bloody one, the black-faced full of fear.
 The king of the blue sky that's called the monarch of the stars,
 It is no more than immodest, if you would know it clear.
 The singer that plays on the lyre in the concert of stars,
 Is no more than the nightingale in the sky's vale, my dear.
 Why do you call the heaven's scribe Āṣaf, the second, aye?
 For, in the wit's street 'tis no more than the bridegroom, you
 The Moon is famous in the town for all her travels long, hear.
 It is no more on Nature's field than a poor rover mere.
 O Khwājū ask your wants from Allah, for in both the worlds
 In contrast to His mercy there's no better patron here.

At the end of the stern warning against the worship of heavenly bodies the poet directs all to Allah quite logically in an appealing manner, hence he says:-

قول خواجو ترانه نتوان گفت - بخش را فسانه نتوان گفت
 Fol. 198A کمال ۱۹۸

A roudelay we can't Khwājū's verse call,
 His poetry is not romance withal.

Style of Lyrics. With regard to matter, Khwājū touched almost all the spheres of life and won a large circle of admirers in his life time, but as regards his manner, it is not unsafe to conclude that he was more of an imitator than a stylist. Sometimes he imitated the style of Bābā Tāhir, and at another time he attempted the model of Sādī's poems. He did not cultivate a style of his own. He left his own naturalism in pursuit of affectation. It ended in verbosity and euphuism in his lyrics. Though he is interesting and charming while he avoids imitation of others, yet he, in his own words, realized the point of his affectation and admired Hāfiz, and called him "the bright hand of Moses", thus:

گرچه خواجو به یقین شعر تو سحرست ولیک - هیچ قدرت نه کند بایر بیضا و کلیم
 دیوان خواجو 184A
 Though Khwājū in reality your verse is called a spell,
 It cannot stand a match to the bright hand of Moses aye.

And he began to attempt Romance which again both in manner and matter is the imitation of Nizāmī, as he says:

گرچه سخن هرور نامی توئی - مستقیم نظم نظامی توئی
 روضه الانوار من ۱، طهران
 Although a famous poet you may be,
 You imitate the verse of Nizāmī.

Quite recently ج. کوپری کرانی has published at Teherān, in 1307, through the Khāvar Press, selected lyrical poems of Khwājū in alphabetical order out of his many poems. They are 79 only in number, as follows:-

Letter	number of odes.	number of couplets
ا	8	70
ب	7	64
پ	28	241
ت	18	164
ث	7	65
ج	3	27
ح	2	20
خ	1	8
د	2	16
ذ	2	31
ر	1	5
ز	79	711

Punjab University Library, are as follows:-

Letter	Number of odes	Number of couplets.
الف	19	174
ب	1	16
پ	13	118
ت	112	1029
ث	2	19
ج	151	1382
چ	1	12½
ح	21	192
خ	1	17½
د	10	96
ذ	2	16
ر	23	210
ز	1	11
س	1	11
س	1	11
ش	4	35
ص	2	16
ض	1	7
ط	11	104
ظ	63	594
ع	32	280
غ	1	10½
ف	15	139
ق	14	137
ک	65	632
گ	557	5269½

In spite of certain gaps which have crept into the above Rotos among the Fols 115A, 115B, 121A, 121B, 129A, 146B, 171B, these ~~are~~ odes are complete, but there are odes which are incomplete:-

1. Fol.120A opening with
2. Fol.129B opening with
3. Fol.146A opening with
4. Fol.146B opening with in the margin
5. Fol.146B opening with in the margin
6. Fol.146B opening with in the margin
7. Fol.169B opening with
8. Fol.171A opening with

امشب اے یار قصہ خواب مکن
گر شاہ پھر یہ درین خانہ کہ ماہی ہم
پندم بجے عقل ہے دیر پیریش
دل از ما و کج چشم تو سرا سر ہمیش
شبست و خلوت و کلمات و ساغر اے
زلفش نافه و تاتار تار نیست
یارے آن نیست کہ آگاہ ناخته از یار
دی شب خبرت نیست کہ در مجلس اصحاب

And the lyrical poems of the Rotos A. no.1658 (Punjab University Library) of the Kapurthala State, which are not available in the Dīvān-i-Khwājū of the British Museum, are as follows:

Letter	number of odes	number of couplets
الف	2	17
ب	2	19
پ	23	209
ت	40	374
ث	8	109
ج	4	38
چ	6	66
ح	19	195
خ	13	125
د	1	9
ذ	8	83
ر	126	1244

A Romance is a tale in verse relating some love episode. It portrays an almost imaginary state of life. In Persian it is a kind of *Maṣnavī*. Its metre is the same throughout but the rhyme varies at every couplet or *bayt*. This is evident from the following piece

بنام خداوند بالا و بخت - که از بستیش بست شد هر چه هست
 فروزنده شمع خادری - بر آرنده طاق نیلوفر
 معطر کن باد عنبر نسیم - نظام آور کار در سیم
 نه بیکر نگارنده بیکران - نه اختر بر آرنده اختران
 جهاندار بخشنده کامگار - خداوند بیچون پروردگار

From the above it is quite apparent that the metre is the same, while the rhyme changes at every couplet.

Although the Persians are indebted to Arabic Literature for all the other forms of Poetry current with them, the *Maṣnavī* is the invention of Persian genius. Rudagī, the blind poet of Persia, laid the foundation-stone of the Romantic form of Poetry when he composed a love story about Vāmik and 'Azrā "based on Pahlavī materials" and widely imitated. (1) In the days of Mahmūd of Ghaznā, 'Unsūrī (970 - 1049) wrote another Romantic work dealing with the same story of Vāmik and 'Azrā. It was entitled again the Vāmik and 'Azrā. In the same period Firdausī, imitating this, attempted the *Shāh-Nāmāh*. He versified the romantic tales of Zāl and Rūdāba, Bezhan and Munizah in it. Realizing the value and importance of this form of poetry, he produced the *Yusuf* and *Zulāikha* in his old age. It is a romantic work pure and simple. There then followed an almost complete lull in the activities of the Romantic School. Meantime three schools of poetry flourished till the appearance of the greatest Romantic poet, Nizāmī.

1. The School of Mystic Poetry.

Abu Sa'īd Abil Khair (967 — 1049 A.D.) was an exponent of this school. Abdullah Anṣārī (1006 - 1088 A.D.) won fame through his Prayers. 'Umar Hayyām (1017 - 1123), Farīd-ud-Dīn 'Attār (1119 - 1230) and Sanāī (? - 1150) carried mystic poetry to a high pitch but it was Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn (1207 - 1273) who produced the greatest Mystic work and became most popular.

2. The Didactic School of Poetry.

Āṣir Khusrāu 'Alavī (1004-1088 A.D.) was a traveller, philosopher and poet. Through the composition of the *Sa'ādat Nāmāh*, *Rushanā'ī-Nāmāh* and

(1) *A Literary History of Persia from Zoroastrian to Sa'ādi*, by Prof. B. N. P. p. 26.

(2) *Persian Literature* by Levy, page 20.

98

the Zād-ul-Musāfirīn he established this new school which reached its zenith in Sa' dī.

3. The Panegyrical School of Poetry.

Following the example of Maḥmūd's court which encouraged poets to write in eulogy of the monarchs, the Seljukians also induced Kašīda writers to pour forth verses in their praise by giving presents to them.

Anvarī (1125-1190 A.D.) and Khākānī (1106-1185 A.D.) reached the summit of fame by virtue of their talents shown in their panegyrical poems. There were hosts of poets who followed their footsteps such as Adīb Šabir (? - 1147 A.D.), Mu'azzī (? - 1148 A.D.), Rashīd-ud-Dīn Vatvāt (? 1182 A.D.) and Fāryābī (1155 - 1202 A.D.). Through their joint labour panegyrical poetry achieved immortality and ruled public interest.

4. The School of Romance.

After Rudagī, 'Unsurī and Firdausī, as mentioned above, a romantic work worth notice, was attempted by Fakhr-ud-Dīn As'ad Gurjānī about 1048. This work was entitled the Vis-u-Rāmin. "A romance said to be based on an old Pahlawī original." (1) In 1141, Nizāmī was born and he during his life time devoted himself to the Romantic School. He wrote the Quintet and won the admiration and affection of the public in such a way as to gain for himself the title of the greatest Romantic Poet of Persia.

While Poetry was supreme, there rose a storm in the shape of nomadic Tartars under the leadership of Chingīz Khān in 1231. He was known as The Curse of Allah. He stained the records of history with blood. He came, saw, conquered, murdered, burnt, and then departed. History kissed his feet and he embraced it; Poetry fell at his feet and he erased it.

His mantle fell upon his successors, Kubla Khān, Hūlāgū Khān, and a host of other descendants. They were second to none in their works of destruction and devastation. Persia, China, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Asia Minor suffered the pangs of agony. They expelled the Assassins from Almut in 1255 A.D. and deposed the Abbasid Caliph at Baghdād in 1258 A.D. The Tartars ultimately became the monarchs of all they surveyed.

The disappearance of the Umayyad Caliphate was a fatal blow to the Arabic language in Persia because Persian became the lingua franca throughout the length and breadth of that land. Unfortunately, there was a decadence of Poetry in Persia during the reign of the Mongols due to their devotion to History, for they desired to preserve their conquests in literary records.

① A Library History of Persia from Firdausī to Sa'dī, by Prof. Browne, p. 274.

② The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edition 14, Vol. 17, page 608.

79

During this period of the Rise of History, poetry had fallen in popularity. Before the furious onslaughts of the Tartars, the people left their homes and hearth for distant lands. The poets, if there were any, sought refuge in the courts of those petty states which by chance were outliving the storm of the reign of terror. Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Abdul Razzāk (? - 1192) and his son Kamāl-ud-Dīn Ismā'īl (? - 1237) maintained the standard of panegyrical poetry by way of praising the noble "A'idī family" (1). At such a time in India a prominent poet, who had no concern with the Ilkhānī Dynasty shone like a star apart even among the overshadowing clouds of the Mongol Terror. He attempted the Qubtī after the model of Niẓāmī of Ganjā. His name was Amīr Khusrāu (1253 - 1325 A.D.)

This current of Romance failed to reach Persia, for Tīmūr was the next conqueror to appear on the stage of history. He carried fire and sword wherever he went. His capital was Samarkand whence he swooped like an eagle down upon all the petty states and built a network of Empire in the territories of Persia, Asia Minor, Turkistān, and Mesopotamia. But he died in 1405, while he was invading China.

After the death of Chingīz and Hūlāgū people tired of the terrors of war desired peace and pleasure and there was a remarkable outburst of poetry and a complete decadence and final eclipse of the study of history. This fresh outburst of Poetry may fitly be termed the Romantic Revival. Khwājū of Kirmān (1284/81 - 1352/53) and Salmān of Sāva (1300 - 1376) were the best exponents of this branch of Poetry in this age. The intrinsic power and appeal of this form of poetry are revealed by this fact that it re-appeared after such an eclipse. In spite of the ravages of time it survived all those destructive forces and found an eloquent exponent in the personality of Khwājū. Under the spell of the Romantic works of Niẓāmī and the lyrical poems of Ḥāfiz, our Poet began to attempt Romance in 709 A.H., the thirtieth year of his age. He says in the Humā-u-Humāyūn: 309 A.D.
 کر آئین ز دیر سپهری در گشت - سه سال از عمر من در گذشت
 He continued it till 746 A.H., the sixty-seventh year of his age. 1345 A.D.
 We proceed to mention the works in the order of the years of their composition:

The Humā-u-Humāyūn.

Written in 732 A.H. 1331 A.D.

Published at Lahore 1872 A.D. and at Bombay in 1320 A.H. 1902 A.D.

Metre: *نمون نمون نمون نمون* Pertains to *مستعار بنوع مقصور* after the style of the

Shāhnāmāh of Firdausī and the Isṣandarnāmāh of Nizāmī.

Couplets: The published edition of Bombay has 4495 couplets. Sa'id Nafīsī (1) has counted 4407 and the Rotos of the Humā and Humāyūn, Accession no. 913 Punjab University Library, Lahore have 4294 couplets.

Dedication. The Prologue is dedicated to Sultan Abū Sa'id Bahādur Khān and his minister Ghiāṣ-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd and the epilogue to Tāḡ-ud-Dīn 'Irākī, Shamas-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḥāin and his son Ruku-ud-Dīn.

Source. The idea was conceived from the suggestion of Ṣadr-Abul Faṭṭḥ Majīd-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd that he should versify the Magian tale for Muslims: see the words of the poet:

نہیں وہاں ہر سلطان بخوان - چو زردشتیاں تہ زہرِ رعباں بخوان ہما دیہا یوں ص ۲۲

The work was begun under the inspiration of the phantom of a beautiful lady whom he saw in his dream. The poet says:

مرا گفت کہ میں لحظہ کا رہے مکن - ہر دو درجیاں یادگار رہے مکن ہما دیہا یوں ص ۲۲

The tale of Bezhan and Munizah in the Shāhnāmāh is the main source of the book. For instance, Humā is imprisoned in a cell as Bezhan was. But the imagination of Khwājū is mostly in the making of it.

Tale. To Mīnūshang, the king of Syria, a son was born Humā by name. He was well educated and trained as a knight. At the age of fifteen, from the hunting ground, he rode to the land of dreams and fairies in pursuit of a deer. A fairy received him warmly and led him to a room in a palace where he fell in love with a figure on a curtain. Thinking of her he slept and dreamt of an angel warning him against love. He awoke in the morning and saw no trace of the palace. Only his charger was standing at his head. On his return to the hunting party in despair, Behzād, his foster-brother, consoled him but in vain. He sent his message of farewell to his parents through his suite and started for Cathay in search of his lady-love. Behzād accompanied him. Both of them fell captives into the hands of Samandev-i-Zangī and his forty dependent freebooters. While they were crossing a river, a storm broke out. The pirates were drowned but Humā and Behzād were washed to the shore. In his travels then, Humā was hailed as a king by the people of Khāvar, following their traditional manner of welcoming the first stranger as their king after the death of their ruler. Behzād became the minister and fell in love with a lady named Āzar Afroz. Shamsa, the daughter of the late ruler, fell in love with Humā. Māhrshāh, a Syrian prince travelling in search of Humā met him in the hunting ground. As a guest of Humā's he fell in love with Shamsa. Humā dreamt of Humāyūn's rebukes, left Khāvar

(1) سید نفیسی ص ۲۲

101

and started for Turan and thence to China.

In his travels, he came across Sa'dān, a Persian trader and a private supplier to Humāyūn, the daughter of Faghfūr of China. On his enquiring, Humā told him his name, Kais bin Kaisān, and said he was a Syrian trader who had been looted on the path. Sa'dān warned him to avoid the path of the golden fort, the abode of Zand, the Magician. He faced the danger and won the Fort after passing through the four ordeals of fire, cloud, the mount, and the fairy. He liberated Parīzād, the daughter of Humāyūn's uncle, from a cell and acquired a good many treasures. Humā opened his heart to her and she promised to help him if she could.

Sa'dān, Parīzād, and Humā came to China. Sa'dān introduced him to Faghfūr in Faghfūr's court as his nephew. Parīzād met Humāyūn and the seed of love for Humā was sown in her heart. She saw him from behind a lattice and fell in love with him. Humā was invited by Faghfūr to the hunting ground. He pretended illness and came to Humāyūn's palace - Saman-Zār -. He killed the gardener and the guard, met Humāyūn, and they enjoyed time together. On his return from the hunting ground, Faghfūr came to know of the accident and put Humā into the prison whence he was liberated by Saman Rukh, the daughter of Suhail Jahān Suz, a king of Afrā-siyāb's line and a tributary to Faghfūr. She fell in love with Humā and prevailed upon him to stay with her for three days. Humā drove to Humāyūn's Palace and requested to be allowed entry. She objected to this and there ensued a dialogue between the two on the point of Humā's love for and stay with Saman Rukh. He gave no reasonable reply to her. He wept, confessed his fault, and returned in despair addressing the clouds in tears.

Humāyūn felt for Humā and left the palace in the dress of a man in search of him. She met him in a field and fought him as a knight. She revealed her identity to him just as he was ready to slay her. They rode to a place of worship together. His fears were aroused by the shouts of an army, but they were turned to joy when he recognized Behzād and Mihr-shāh at the head of that army which was travelling in search of himself. A letter was sent to Faghfūr for the hand of Humāyūn. He invited Humā to China. Though Behzād warned him of foul play, Humāyūn with Humā went there. After a time he received a severe blow by the news that Humāyūn had died while she was concealed in an underground chamber of the Premier's house.

Parīzād visited the Premier's house by chance and saw Humāyūn in the chamber. Farīnush, the Premier's son, fell in love with Parīzād on sight

her. Farīnush conceived the idea of getting success in his suit through Humā. He set out and found Behzād and Mīhrshāh. He told them of Humāyūn's safety but there was no trace of Humā. Behzād and Farīnush set out to hunt for him. At the suggestion of a priest at a place of worship they came upon a caravan party whence they were guided to find Humā weeping on a certain mountain. The news of Humāyūn's safety was intimated to him. He summoned courage to come over to China. Farīnush led Humā to Humāyūn and she was liberated.

A battle was fought in which Faghfūr fell. The marriage of Humā and Humāyūn and Farīnush and Parīzād took place. Humā forgave the Premier and conferred the kingdom of China upon Farīnush. On his return to Khāvar Behzād was married to Āzar Afruz and Mīhrshah to Shamsa.

One day again, Humā saw a beautiful form in a valley that told him to go to Syria, as Mīnushang had died. This was the very deer that helped him to win Humāyūn's hand. Humā and Humāyūn left China and came over to Syria. A son Jahāngīr by name was born to them. Humāyūn died when he was fourteen years of age and later Humā also met his end and Jahāngīr became the monarch.

Criticism. Beginning the book with *بنام خداوند بالادوست - که از بهشتیست شد هر چه هست* *هماد همایون ص ۱۰* Khwājū prays to Allah and praises the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him) in the opening chapters following the habit of Muslim authors.

The poem is a fictitious tale that portrays the world as a mirror of miseries. Quite contradictory to his pessimistic nature, he brings the story to an optimistic end. Yet, though he did not part with his hero and heroine in life, he causes them to shed plenty of tears and face many sorrows. He makes his hero weep like himself more often than not. Consider especially the occasion of the enquiry of Humāyūn about his love for Āzar Afruz and Shamsa and his stay with Saman Rukh. Khwājū could not put a reasonable excuse into the mouth of his hero; for instance Humā could have said that Saman Rukh was to him as his liberator hence he stayed with her at her request as a guest. On the contrary he wept, invoked oaths, confessed his fault, and asked pardon:

دلدم دلم در دلم باش توئی - چه دربان چه دردم ددایش توئی *هماد همایون ص ۱۰*
غریبم دلی از تو نبود غریب - که بخشی ز انعام عام نصیب *هماد همایون ص ۱۰*
 and called himself even a dog of her street.
مرا چون سگ کوچه از درمرا - مدار از سگ کوچه کتر مرا *هماد همایون ص ۱۱*

103

humiliating himself to an intolerable degree. It is quite amusing to note that Khwājū calls Humā 'the lamp of the palace of bright-minded persons',

شَب افروزِ ایرانِ روشندان - مُشَبِّه رُودانِ قُبَلِ مَقْبَلان
یا و بیا یوں ص ۱۶۹

and then contradicts his statement in the light of Humā's character. Moreover, he mars his hero's character by representing him as a recluse at the false report of the death of Humāyūn, while it was the moment for our poet to put him in the role of those heroes who bear the brunts of life bravely in the arena of the world.

Humāyūn, the beautiful heroine, seems to be reasonable in questioning Humā's love for Shamsa, Āzar Afruz, and Saman Rukh, but the question arises, how did she come to know of these episodes? Khwājū is silent about this. By putting this supernatural halo round Humāyūn, Khwājū belittles the worth of her character. Still again, in spite of her being doubtful of Humā's true love, she calls him sincere and thus contradicts herself:

چو مہجور ماند از و غدار خویش - بخت شد ز گفتار کردار خویش
یا و بیا یوں ص ۱۷۴

Behzād is a sensible creation of Khwājū's brain, as a sincere friend and a true sympathiser in danger. Though at the outset he admonished Humā because of his love for Humāyūn, yet he repented of his words. When he lost his heart to Āzar Afruz.

کہ اے برہمہ خردانِ شہر یار - مرادِ رحیم در طمہ مندور دار
یا و بیا یوں ص ۶۱

his warning to Humā to desist from going to China at the invitation of Agħfūr for fear of foul play, is an indication of his wisdom, and Humā's coolhardiness indeed. Behzād is the character most fitted, in respect of to his faithfulness, ~~in that he liberated~~ Humā from the cell, but Khwājū's introduction of Saman Rukh as Humā's liberator made Humāyūn suspicious of his conduct as a true lover. He might have been imitating Firdausī in the incident of the deliverance of Bezhan from the well. Even then the liberator was Rustam and Munizah only was the source of his information. It is a poor parody of the Shāhnāmā that a knight in the words of Khwājū should be delivered by a woman to his perpetual ignominy.

Āzar Afruz, the beloved of Behzād, is a beautiful lady of strong character in bearing the rejection of her love by Humā with a calm mind. Though she divulged the pangs of love to Shamsa in private, she bore all despair quietly. Khwājū spoiled all her graces by making her dwell upon her own beauty, thus:

چو سلطان چشم در آمد بصید - در افتادش این صید لاغر بقیہ
یا و بیا یوں ص ۶۸

When the king - my eyes - came to hunt merrily
This weak game fell into captivity.

Such a confession is quite foreign to the lips of a woman.

Shamsa, a confidant of Azar Afroz, is another character of Khwājū's.

It looks quite unnatural on her part to woo Humā thus:

شب صبح خیزان بروے توروز - چراغ دلم را ز مهر تو سوز
 The early risers' night hath from your face
 Its day; my hearts wick lights from your love's grace.

so openly as to invite his attention by throwing an orange at him. It struck Mīhrshah, who fell in love with her. She showed her love for Humā who in return asked her to love Mīhrshah, though it is quite unnatural to request a lady in this manner.

مکن بے نصیبی ز روز وصال - کہ مهر رخت را مبادا زوال
 Do not deprive him of the marriage day,
 May the sun of your face not set, I pray.

Here again Khwājū miserably fails to depict the character of his women folk. The introduction of Shamsa and Mīhrshah is nothing short of a love intrigue for the sake of marriage only. Khwājū very wisely could have omitted Shamsa as she serves no other purpose but marriage in this plot. Still again he artistically could have introduced Mīhrshah as a cynic to dwell upon the dark side of life and have put all the mystic strains and sermonizing tones in his mouth to make the plot complete. For it looks quite unseemly when the poet himself indulges in such mystic themes in a romantic book and it is to his discredit as an artist.

Parīzād is a very good character as a woman in inculcating love for Humā in the heart of Humāyūn. It is a highly commendable feature of her conduct that she fulfils her promise by repaying the meritorious services rendered by Humā in delivering her. She helped the readers much by not keeping them in suspense for long about Humāyūn's safety while she paid a visit to her chamber and announced her alive. Her marriage with Farīnush is the most important and marvellous creation of Khwājū's brain. Farīnush is the best character in this book. He was a most shrewd man in finding the cure of his love in the person of Humā. His was an adventurous spirit for it led him to the discovery of Humā; and a courageous one withal in that he liberated him. It was his worldly wisdom that brought about the reconciliation between Humā and Farīnush's father. And finally his gallantry won the heart of Parīzād. To crown all, he deserved the crown of China and got it. Had Khwājū not created this character he would have been too poor a poet to deserve note. This production of his counter-balanced all the drawbacks of Khwājū as a character-writer.

¹ See J.B. Entelis by (Kantler) M. Mann and Shapiro, H.A. Cantowitz Professor of Arabic, in the University of the Punjab, Lahore, presented "Says the University of the Punjab, 1931, page 102.

Moreover it tells heavily upon the readers' mind to go through the lengthy descriptions of the subjects like 'pen' and 'wine' etc., and to study the monotonous details of the drinking bouts in the end of each chapter nearly. But these defects and others mentioned above would have been easily tolerated had he been a stylist. On the contrary he is an

imitator of Nizami as is proved below in respect of wine and youth.

مراساتی از دعدہ ایزدیت - صبح از خرابی از بخت و دیت
دگر نه به ایزد که تا بوده ام - به دامن لب نیا بوده ام

نظامی سکنہ زمانہ ۱۲۴۲
تکلیف و صفات ۲۰ و ۲۱ نظامی

بدہ ساتی آن خسروانی قہج - کہ دل را پیفزاید از دے قہج

خواجہ ص ۲۲ ہا بیتی

مراد از قہج بادہ سردی است - و ز آن بادہ مقصود ما بخت و دیت

Again we reproduce both the poets with regard to youth

جوانی شد و ز ندگانی نماند - جہاں گو سماں چوں جوانی نماند

سکنہ زمانہ ۱۲۴۲
نظامی ص ۱۸

در نیا جوانی کہ بر باد شد - خنک آنکہ از عالم آزاد شد

خواجہ ص ۲۲ ہا بیتی

Written 742 A.H. (1)

1341 A.D.

Published: not as yet.

Metre: ⁽²⁾ متاعیلین متاعیلین متاعیلین pertains to ⁽³⁾ نازج سعدی قصور after the

Khusraw Shirin of Nizāmī.

Couplets: Sa'id Nafīsī (3) counts them to be 5302. The Rotos of the Punjab University Library Accession no. 2201 have 4821 couplets.

Dedicated: The prologue is for Taj-ud-Dīn 'Irākī and its epilogue is for Ishāk bin Ibrāhīm Kāzrūnī and Amīn-ud-Dīn Kāzrūnī.

Source: Khwājū conceived the idea of composing this work for the minister. He says: گل و نروروز Fol. 61 B
چوناش بزرگ نام کنی تاج - فرستد خورشید سیه ات باج
and he received the inspiration to do so at the appearance of an apparition to him in a dream. He says:

ز ناگه بخت نیکم روی نمود - ز کار سنج ورافضامه بکشود Fol. 62 B گل و نروروز
My fortune good did all at once appear
And read out the Romantic tale my dear.

The source of the book so far as the plot is concerned is from the Shāhnāmah, as he says himself:

دگر خاطر کشد شمه نامه پیش آر - بخواندن خویش را مشغول میرا Fol. 67 A گل و نروروز
If you are tired take the Shāhnāmah then
And busy be to read it out again.

The tale beginning with بنام نقش بند خنوت خاک - عذرا فرورز مه در بیان اندک
the poet prays to Allah and praises the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him). There is a laudatory poem for Bā Yazīd, as he says:

خرد را پس بیاید سر بطام - شراب اتمدی افکنده در جام Fol. 60 A گل و نروروز

Summary: Fīruz, the king of Khurāsān, had only one begotten son named Nauruz. He was highly educated and a well-trained knight. In the hunting ground he met Jahān Afruz, a trader of Kashmīr, who sowed the seed of love for Gul in his heart, as he had heard of her beauty in his travels for trade. Nauruz was encouraged to seek for his lady love at the impulse of an auspicious dream of two nightingales. The king tried to dissuade him through his minister who brought home to his mind the fatal end of Muhammad in his love for 'Alī. Nauruz refuted the argument of Mihrast the minister by relating the pathetic story of Behzād and Parīzād, who met together after the restoration of their lost sons. She also had been separated from her husband due to the shameless treachery of a trader who kidnapped her and carried her in an iron safe. Mihrast departed in dis-

(۱) خواجہ کرمانی مصنف سید ابیسی ص ۴۴
(۲) خواجہ کرمانی مصنف سید ابیسی ص ۴۵
(۳) خواجہ کرمانی مصنف سید ابیسی ص ۴۸

gust and sent his own son Mihrān to control the prince. He skillfully played upon his feelings to give up his fancy for Gul by illustrating the tale of Mihr and Mihrbān. Mihr, the daughter of the ruler of Baghdād was the beloved, and Mihrbān, a trader, her lover! Fortune smiled upon him so far as to enable him to pay her nightly visits through Vafādār, her gardener, after endangering his life in crossing the river; but he could not win her hand as she was carried away by an evil spirit during her father's travels. The prince reprimanded him by describing the tale of Kamāl of Kirmān who was reproached by Sharaf in his love-suit. But Sharaf himself repented of his remarks upon his death-bed before Kamāl after having fallen in love with Jamāl. The prince and Mihrān (who shortly returned) started for Rome and fell among a group of priests who revelled in wine at midnight near the suburbs of Rome. Shirvīn mistook the prince for an intruder and gave him battle but on being defeated begged for his life lest he be killed and not be able to marry Salmā, the daughter of Salm, the Roman petty ruler. The prince pardoned him and promised to help him. Nauruz reached the land of Salm, in the guise of a trader named Bazm Afruz. He saw Salm through his handmaid Yākūt by offering her a string of pearls. Salm treacherously had a mind to kill him in the feast held in his honour in order to get his wealth, but in the banquet he escaped death through the timely information of Yākūt about Salm's evil intentions. He killed Salm who had been made unconscious by a sleeping dose administered by Nauruz. Shāh Aurang, the general of Salm, gave battle to Nauruz and Shirvīn, but he fell boldy in the battle. Salmā offered her hand to Nauruz but the latter married the former to her lover Shirvīn who became the ruler in place of Salm.

The prince in his marches met Farrukh Ruz, a lover of Gul in a vale. He had suffered defeat at her father's hands. Nauruz happened to stay with a priest who told all the past and future events of his life and encouraged him by relating the story of Naśīr, the prince of Khurasān and Naśr of Baghdād. The former put up with the latter on his way to Mecca. During his stay, he fell in love with a lady unconscious of the fact of her being the fiancée of Naśr. Naśīr opened his heart to him (Naśr). When afterwards Naśr was reduced to poverty, Naśīr married his sister to him in recognition of his chivalrous deed done to him in his bestowal of his own fiancée upon Naśīr. Nauruz, in his travels to Rome, released Bakht Afruz, the husband of Gul's nurse, and his caravan from the maraud-

ers. Bark, their leader, was put to the sword. Again, near Kālsariya (Caesarea) he was warned by a guard on the pillar to avoid the dragon on the path, but Nauruz courted danger and shot it dead. With this triumph he entered Rome among the rejoicings of Caesar and his people.

Bakht Afruz, had already introduced him to the king. In a banquet held in his honour, the Prince, then known as Azhdahā Kush, roused the anger of the king by asking for the hand of Gul. To get rid of Nauruz, the king asked him to fight against Shibl, the negro slave before winning the hand of Gul. Though Bakht Afruz dissuaded him from having a contest against Shibl he met and defeated him in the arena to the utter astonishment of Caesar.

Fortune smiled upon the prince in respect of his receiving the message of love from Gul through her nurse. He paid her a secret night-visit to her sleeping chamber where she slept soundly. Without disturbing her, he put a ring round her finger. She awoke and enjoyed the song of Shāh Nāz in honour of that token.

Before the marriage of Gul and Nauruz, Caesar was attacked by

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Before the marriage of Gul and Nauruz, Caesar was attacked by Farrukh Ruz for the hand of Gul. The king asked Nauruz to fight against the invader and his cohorts. The prince fought and won the day for Caesar.

During the nuptial preparations, Nauruz dreamt of the nightingales telling him of the disappearance of Gul. He awoke and wept to know that Tūfān Jādū, the magician, had carried her to Armenia.

The prince was led to a valley from the hunting ground in pursuit of a deer. It disappeared and the prince fell down unconscious from his horse. When he recovered, he saw a fairy who urged him to continue his expedition as success awaited him.

He dreamt of a priest who told him of Kaśr-i-Shāhpūr, the cell of Gul, and he informed him that a cock should be shot to break the spell.

Nauruz did as he was required to do. He released Gul and Mihrān who had been already imprisoned there and killed Tūfān Jādū.

Nauruz, Gul, and Mihrān reached Rome to the rejoicings of Caesar and his people. On the evidence of Mihrān as to the royal lineage of Nauruz, Caesar married Gul to him. The prince left for Khurāsān with his bride passing through Azarbāijān and Nakhchuvān. On his way he saw Dānish Afruz, the sage, and asked fourteen mystical questions and received satisfactory answers to them.

On reaching Khurāsān, he met his father who died suddenly and left the throne for him. A son Kūbād was born to the happy couple. He was still a boy of fourteen when Nauruz died prematurely and his queen died a week later in despair.

Criticism. It is a book of chivalrous exploits webbed round the character of Nauruz, a true lover, a brave knight, and a sincere friend indeed as he was too wise to reject the offer of Salmā to marry her and keep his character spotless from the blemish of infamy, for Jahān Afruz, a trader of Kashmīr, had already sown the seed of love for Gul in his heart.

His first contest as a wandering warrior was against Shirvīn, whom he defeated in the open field. Here Khwājū makes a mountain of a mole-hill by using verbose language for a petty skirmish. Moreover, a minor and selfish character of the type of Shirvīn did not deserve such a grandiose style and ornate description for he has been inserted simply for the sake of his marriage:

جوشاہ را دیدیم بچوں آتش تیز - برآمد بر صمیم کوہ سبک خیز
بدستش خنجر زہر آب دارہ - بفراتش کندے آب دارہ
بر آوزد نرہ و بار و ویا و یخت - ز نعل فارہ سم آتش برانگیخت Fol. 84B کل دروز

without serving any other purpose of the plot in general. In spite of all this, we cannot help but admire the kindness of Nauruz in forgiving Shirvīn and conferring upon him the hand of Salmā, and her father's domains as well; though he had endangered his own life to acquire it.

It was due to his shrewdness that he won already to his side by the offering of a pearl string, Yākūt, who in the banquet informed him timely of the treacherous intentions of Salm to kill him for his wealth. Here Khwājū betrays his weakness as an artist in introducing the sleeping dose to make Salm unconscious, while he had not mentioned it already.

Moreover, how could he carry it along with him before the feast for he was quite in the dark about the evil intention of Salm till Yākūt's information? Still again, it would have been better to kill Salm while in his senses rather than attack him fatally in his unconsciousness. Khwājū might bring the plea of "evil to an evil doer", yet we denounce the means of meting out punishment to Salm. Fortunately being conscious of this defect, Khwājū makes Nauruz fight against Shāh Aurang, the commander of Salm, and compensates for that drawback, otherwise there was no need of making the general fight when the ruler was already killed. Moreover, to amend for this plan, he uses the patriotic strain here to arouse the

national feelings thus in the praise of Nauruz:-

سرایرانیان شمع جهانروز - گل باغ کین شه زاده نوروز گل دوزوز
Fol. 88A

The encounter of the dragon is a clear indication of his presence of mind, which prompted him in the nick of time to shoot it dead. It was the chief source of his popularity at which the people of Rome were jubilant, because he won their hearts through a work of public service and they hailed him as their deliverer. Khwājū to his credit had already through Bakht Afruz introduced Nauruz to Caesar in the following words:

ز بخت افروز بیگامت شنیدم - کنون خود پیکر و گامت بدیدم
Fol. 95A گل دوزوز

Caesar, a king of dilatory nature, hesitated to fulfil his pledge of marrying his daughter to him. On the other hand, Khwājū produced an ordeal for our hero in order to establish his reputation all over Rome by causing him to meet Shibl, the negro, in a contest. Nauruz took up the gauntlet in spite of the good advice of Bakht Afruz to avoid this terrible wrestler. Fortune helped him to kill the man in the open arena as a valiant gladiator. Really Khwājū meant by his success to cement the love of Gul for Nauruz. It is a pity that Khwājū, contrary to the custom of the West deprived Gul of the opportunity of seeing the valour of Nauruz in the arena, and instead, made his fame reach her ears in the palace. She sent her nurse to him with a message of love. His behaviour was quite gentlemanly in paying her a night visit in such a way as not to disturb her hours of sleep and to put the ring round her finger in token of his reciprocal love. Gul was glad to see the ring, to make a feast in his honour, and to listen to a song of Shāh Nāz in order to enjoy the happy hours. Khwājū shows her character as a model of beauty only fit for worship like an idol without her having any active share in the plot. In fact, every chivalrous exploit was done for her sake, as she was the motive power of her hero's activity yet she ought not to be portrayed so weak in taste for music as to enjoy the song of Shāh Nāz sung in the same rhyme and metre as the *Masnavi*. Why did she not feel repugnance for such a song and ask her maid to sing in another metre to escape the dull monotony and lay bare the artistic weakness of the poet?

It is an irony of fate that Khwājū should disturb the festivities at Rome by the invasion of Farrukh Ruz, who came with a large army to win the hand of Gul. Caesar, a man of diplomatic foresight made the best of that moment to direct all danger towards Nauruz so that were he to rise or fall in both cases it would be good for Caesar's purpose.

How beautifully Khwājū introduced Farrukh Ruz, a rival in love to Nauruz, in the valley. How bravely did our hero prove true to the call of Caesar and kill Farrukh Ruz in a hand to hand fight! How forcible is the language and thrilling the scene depicted below:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (۸) بیک جستن بچنگ این چنگ - رسید از کینه در پیل دمان تنگ | (۱) سینه آفاق سوز آزاده نورد - شد از کانون کینه آتش افروز |
| (۹) بنوک تیرد لده زش فروخت - بالاسی جگر سوزش فرو سوخت | (۲) ز چنگ بلفند گرز و کف برآورد - غریب از سینه برتف برآورد |
| (۱۰) ز خون پیل شد ناورد و گم نیل - نشه شامی در افتاد از سر پیل | (۳) سینه خاره شمع را در جفا غم - ز خارا اگر در گزدون رسانید |
| (۱۱) در آن خیر یارای هم ضربت یافت - ز آب جان لده زش شربت یافت | (۴) بشه تاد و کمر بندش زنده چنگ - بروشی کشد در قبضه اش تنگ |
| (۱۲) تنش شد صیقل تیغ سرانراز - سر گشت افریج سرانراز | (۵) در آید پیل کو را در سرآرد - بمرستی بخرطوش درآرد |
| (۱۳) بگردون بر شد افغان از دوشتر - ز شاهی بچو گل بشگفت قیصر | (۶) بر پیل تن خنجر برآفرافت - بنزدیک برو خرتوش انافت |
| Fol. ۱۵۲ A گل و نورد | (۷) بگردانید رخ پیل از بر شاه - نهاد از تاب خنجر سر سوه راه |

This decisive victory of Nauruz won the princess for him. By dint of his prowess, he forced Caesar's hands to yield ^{to} his demand to marry her. As fate would have it, a thunderbolt fell from the blue at the disappearance of Gul. Our hero showed his dauntless courage at this crisis. Khwājū too deserves our praise for the creation of this character who did not lose heart, but rather broke the spell of Tūfān and turned the tragedy into a happy ending with the sharp edge of his sword.

The appearance of Mihrān, a skilful character of an insinuating nature in verifying the lineage of Nauruz, is a romantic grace to our poet's credit, but he spoils all this romantic charm by virtue of his asking fourteen mystical questions of Nauruz, and their answers by Dānish Afruz - a sage - at the end of the work. What was the advantage of these questions, if they do not reveal Khwājū's own devoted bent of mind towards mysticism?

It is an interesting feature of this work that Khwājū intersperses it with love tales spoken through Mihrast and Mihrān at the suggestion of Firuz, the loving father and noble king of Khurāsān to dissuade the prince from his love, yet it is peculiar to our poet's genius that he uttered other responsive tales of far-reaching effect through the lips of Nauruz so skilfully as to defeat both the father and his son in the war of words. A cultured mind would not tolerate the excess of love put therein, yet the tale of Naṣr and Naṣir is the best among them, highly suited to the taste of all ages in respect of the lesson of self sacrifice and fit to make Khwājū a poet of universal appreciation. The majority of people attach no importance to dreams and fairies undoubtedly in this age of ours, yet in respect of this work Khwājū makes dreams ^{pivot} the ~~prism~~ of his work.

The appearance of the fairy deserves special notice in view of the speech delivered by her to stir up the depressed mind of Nauruz after the disappearance of Gul. Had it not been so, there would have been the danger of ruin to our hero's aim in life. As it is so important to build our hero's character, we reproduce a part of it here to show the forcible style when Khwājū avoids imitation and appears in his own colours:

بد و گفتم ای گل باغ معانی - چو بیل در غم گل چند معانی
تو آن شمع که صد پروانه داری - ولی در تابی از پروانه داری
گرت چشم بی افتاد در کار - ز بخت تنگ دولت چشم حیدار
منج ار در فلندت کوه پیکر - که آفت و خیز در دولت نکوتر
بر خیم تیشه لعل از کال بر آرد - بخامه صورت ایوان نگار د
بفرمایید رواج فقره از کوب - شود حاصل میا میوه از چوب
به بستان میبچ گل بے خار نبود - که امین بخت کانا مار نبود
نه آخر شاه انجم را و بال است - خداست آنکه ملکش بے زوال است
ترا خود امین زمان بنگام کار است - که در کوئے تو دولت را قرار است
منه بر دل غبار عالم خاک - تو در یایچه چه اندیشی ز خاشاک
اگر کردی خطای کرد با تو - ز بد مهری جفاے کرد با تو
مکن اندیشه زان بهر خو خوار - که از فونست اصل مشک تا تار
پس آنکه گفت که من خاک پایت - که نگریم کسی دیگر بجایت
ملک را بر نشاند گشت نایاب - چو در ابر سیاه مانده ماتیاب

Fol. 104 A
گل و نرور

As to the customs of society described in this work, Khwājū depicts the rites of the Chinese, imitating Firdausi at the time of the departure of the daughter of Khākān to Naushīrvān in Persia while Caesar of Rome sends his daughter with Nauruz to Khurāsān:

شتر بار کرده بد بیایه چین - بیار استه پشت اسپاں بزرین
چهل تاز دیبایه ز رفعت گون - کشیده ز برود بزر اندرون
صد اشتر ز گستر دنی بار کرد - پرستنده سیصد بدیدار کرد

شاهنامه فردوسی جلد چهارم ص ۶۲ طبرستان ۱۳۱۲

هزار اشتر همه با طوق و خال - چو طاقوس سندی گوهری مال

مبار جلد از ابریشم چین - بگوهر بر عمار بیایه زرین

Fol. 110 A

گل و نرور

Again as Firdausi depicts the departure of Khākān of China after seeing his daughter off so Khwājū imitates the customs of the Chinese in respect of Caesar's bidding farewell to his daughter:

بهر رفت باد فتر و خواسته - ستوران و پیلاں آراسته

چنین قالب رود جیجوں رسید - بمشکان همه از دلش خون کشیده

ز جیجوں دله هر خون باز گشت - ز فرزند بادرد انبار گشت

فزون از صد هیوی کوه پیکر - همه در زیر بار لعل و گوهر

نر آشوب درایه و جیش رنگ - قتاده از غنوں زمره از جیش

ناخ بارنگر دید آه نشسته روم - وداعی کرد و آمد با برودم

فردوسی جلد چهارم ص ۶۳ طبرستان ۱۳۱۲

گل و نرور

Still again, Khwājū introduces the customs of the Persians among the Romans. For instance gold and silver coins were flung over the Princess of China and Persia:

ز آئین و کنبه بشرو بدشت - براه که لشکر می درگذشت

ز ایران می کودک و مردوزن - براه بت چمن شدند انجمن

ز بالا بدیشان درم ریختند - ز شک و ز غبر می ریختند

شاهنامه فردوسی ص ۴۴ لم طهران ۱۳۱۲ شمس

and Khwājū paints the same scenery on the arrival of Gul in China from the cell of Tūfān the magician:

بزرگان شادی و اقبال کردند - بشادی جمله استقبال کردند

رسانیدند مهد کل بگلزار - برافشانند سیم و زر بجزوار

همه بازار با آئین بستند - بعشرت با می نوشین نشستند

Feb. 106 A

گل و نوروز

Written 743 A.H.
1341 A.D.

Published in 1306 A.H. at Teheran.

Metre سرای مطوی مقطوع منشور موقوف after the metre of the Makhzan-i-Asrār of Nizāmī.

Couplets The Rotos of the Punjab University Library Accession no. 913 have 1210 couplets. The published copy has 2020 and Sa'īd Nafīsī writes 1912. (1)

Dedicated. Shams-ud-Dīn Sāin both in the prologue and the epilogue.

Source. Khwājū's vision painted in the following words:

لعلبت مہر وے میچی نثر اد - سباغیرے ہر کعبہ دستم نہاد
در دل من چشم جان شد ندید - وز کعبہ خضر آب حیاتم رسید

A Christian lady is said to be the cause of his inspirations but the main source of this work is the Makhzan-i-Asrār of Nizāmī. Let alone the ideas and equal number of the division of chapters, he has been found to use the same words even—

زاں گل و زراں نرگس کاں باغ داشت
نرگس او سرمہ ما زانغ داشت

مخزن الاسرار ص ۱۷

باغ کشا نرگس ما را راغ را
د آب بہر خوش نظر باغ را

روضۃ الانوار ص ۷

(ب) باغ سخا چو فلک تازہ کرد - مرغ سخن را ملک ادا زہ کرد
چشم قلم ابرہ نو آب شاد - مرغ سخن باز ملک یک شکار

روضۃ الانوار ص ۱۹

(ج) در صفت گنگ فرو مانده ایم - من عرف اللہ فرو خواندہ ایم

مخزن الاسرار ص ۱۲

در رکہ عرفان چو شدی راہ جوی - معرفت از من عرف اللہ جوی

روضۃ الانوار ص ۲۵

The Theme: It is an ethical work of mystic nature. It discusses Pride, Unity, Purification of the mind, Love, Charity, Creation, etc. thoroughly. To drive off the dryness of these reflective subjects, the poet illustrates them all with very interesting stories and parables of historical importance, and personal experience.

For instance, in the chapter on the Revolution of Times, Khwājū relates

the story of his patron who met his fall unfortunately. Khwājū's mind was upset owing to the discontinuation of his donations, but Khwājū rebuked his own disturbed mind thus:

ہندۂ اوشو کہ جہاں زانِ دوست - کون دیکھان خوردہ از خواںِ دوست

ہر کہ جو خواہ بدر دل رسید - بولے گل از باغ تو گل شنید

روضۃ الانوار ص ۳۷

Be slave to Him for Whom the world is aye
The Universe is a crumb from his tray,
Like Khwājū, one who searched the heart's door there,
Did smell the flower's scent from Trust's garden fair.

Criticism. Beginning with *بسم اللہ الرحمن الرحیم* and following with the prefatory chapters of the prayer to Allah and praise of the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him), Khwājū's ideas neither new nor subtle cover the space of twenty chapters. They are so old and stereotyped as to be followed and understood very easily in his handling of them in a didactic manner in the premises, but he carries the readers into depths of obscurity through his indulgence in mysticism in the conclusion. For instance, how beautifully does he define a common-place subject charity as:

مالک دینار بہ انی کہ کیست - آنکہ ندانست کہ دینار چیست

روضۃ الانوار ص ۷۵

Who is the master of the coins you know?
That one who did not care for the coins so,

and explains it in an easy manner thus:

ہرچہ دریں جا بہی آں بری - در ز جہاں درگذری جان بری

روضۃ الانوار ص ۷۱

Whatever you give here, you would take them all,
If you leave the world, you win your soul withal.

but to illustrate this point, he versifies the tale of the hungry caravan-leader who asked for food when he was passing beside Hātim's grave. A dromedary fell ill, was slaughtered, and served for food. Its owner had to walk on foot then. In this miserable plight, a relative of Hātim's turned up driving a dromedary at full speed, and told him that Hātim had ordered him in a dream to hand over that dromedary to him, in these words:

رنجہ شو روی درآور براہ - دین بظاہر خواہ برو عذر خواہ

روضۃ الانوار ص ۷۴

To trouble put yourself and wend your way,
Take it to the Lord and excuses lay.

Carrying his reader into the Elysian world of dreams quite obscurely, he puts his concluding remark in a mystic sense thus:

پیش کریم دو جہاں اندکیست - نیستی و هستی ایشان یکلیست

روضۃ الانوار ص ۷۴

Before the gracious, both the worlds are small,
Life and death equal do to them e'er fall.

There is a halo of Romance round the personality of Alexander in the Iskandar Nāmāh of Nizāmī, but Khwājū does not fail to enshroud this great man in clouds of mysticism as well. To elucidate the chapter of the Aim in

View, Khwājū narrates the story of Aristotle and Alexander where-in the former asks the latter about the cause of his dejection after so many conquests all over the world. Alexander replied:

کز چه سبب چشم دل تابناک - تیره کنم در پی یک مشت خاک
روضه الانوار ص ۵

Why should I make my pure heart and eyes bright
Dim for a handful of dust? Is it right?

It is an obscurity to hear these remarks from a man of dauntless courage and aspiring nature like Alexander. To put such a mystic reply into his mouth is an open betrayal of Khwājū's own mind and an utter failure in the art of describing characters. In spite of all this cloudy atmosphere he is singularly fascinating and highly attractive at that moment when he descends from his mystical flights, and casts off this supernatural robe of obscurities and appears bright as a writer and charming as a poet. He commands our respect by the power of his diction, the purity of his language, and the fluency of his style in the story of Alp Arslān and an old woman. The king shot her cow in the hunting ground by mistake. She came to know of the sad accident and determined to see him about it. On his way he was held up by the old woman. The monarch enquired about her complaint. She replied in the following ^{words} which reflect ^{as} a mirror, our poet's descriptive talents:

داد جواش که نظم زنت - زانکه همه ناله مردم زنت
چار یقینند مرا بے پدر - روز و شب آدرده بجنّت بمر
فکرت ایشان همه بر جان من - در سر ایشان شده سامان من
بود مرا گاوکی از بهر شیر - وقت فرومانده گیم دستگیر
خرج یتیمان من از شیر او - خاطر من بسته زنجیر او
وقت بصر او شکار تو شد - بر سر ره در سر کار تو شد
بشت پناه و سر شکر توئی - وز تو بود بازوی شکر توئی
چون تو نباشی ز سپه بر خبر - جرم سپاه از تو بود سر بر
تا تو به نجر زانی سمند - وحشی مسکین نشود پائے بند
گر بودت آنگهی از هر کسی - کس نلکه جو روحفا بر کسی
نظم و ستم گر چه ز دربان بود - از اثر غفلت سلطان بود
گر ندیدی داد من محقق - از تو بخوابد فلک انصاف من
در نلکی کار من امروز است - در عمر صا از تو کنم باز خواست
روز جزا دست من و دامن - و آتش بیداد من و خرم منت
دست بدار از ستم ای شهریار - در نه شتم از تو بر آرد دمار

ص ۴۱-۴۲ روضه الانوار

These two couplets are in the Rotos A. No 913 :-

از مے غفلت شده نیم مرت - نیست ترا آنگهی از هر که هست
شاه چه گردد ز رعیت بر کا - خون رعیت بخورد دلشکری رفته از آب

Fol. 86 A

The king was moved to tears and restored her cow and conferred other donations upon her as well. Not to speak of Alp Arslān alone, our poet is no way less powerful with regard to other characters in ruling the reader's mind and exacting the tribute of praise.

Written 744 A.H.
1343 A.D.

Dedicated: The prologue is for Shaikh Abū Ishāq of Kāzrūn, and the epilogue for Sultan Jamāl-ud-Dīn Abū Ishāq, son of Maḥmūd.

Metre: خفیف اسلم شیخ pertains to غزلتین مناعین نعدون after the metre of the Bahrām Nāmah of Mizāmī, though different in the theme.

Couplets: Sa'īd Nafīsī quotes 1849 couplets, but the Rotos of the Punjab University Library Accession No. 913 possess 2585 couplets although the fols. from 51B to 59B are wanting.

Published: Not as yet.

Source: The Ḥadīkah-tui-Ḥakikat of Sanāī seems to be the source of this work. The introduction of the four elements, dust, air, water and fire therein is the outcome of Khwājū's own genius.

The Theme: Beginning the book with

بسم من لا اله الا هو - صنع لفظی وزین معناه Fol. 51A کمال نامہ

he prays to Allah and praises the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings be upon him) in accordance with the system of Muslim authors in the East.

He confesses his poetry to have been weak before this attempt, but he claims to improve upon it after his spiritual allegiance to Ibrāhīm Abū Ishāq of Kāzrūn (died in 726 A.H.), in whose shrine he composed the work within two months. He praises his religious leader and invokes the blessings of the dust of his grave to help him in this work: The dust refuses to help him in these works:

نہ مرا پائے آنکہ گیرم کام - نہ مرادست آنکہ گیرم جام
Fol. 61B کمال نامہ
I have no foot to win my aim, I pray;
I have no hand to catch the cup, I say.

So he is led to water. At his request for help, the water replied:

مے روم گرم داشک می راغ - مے زخم موج و رود می خواغ
Fol. 62A کمال نامہ
I run so fast and shed tears ever so,
I lash in waves to sing a song you know.

and asked him to go to the air for succour. Air is approached with abundant praises but it declines him thus:

نہ مرا مسکنی و ما وائی - نہ مرا موقوفی و ملجائی
Fol. 62B کمال نامہ
Nor home, nor place of shelter I have here;
Nor house, nor residence I have, my dear.

Now at the suggestion of the air, Khwājū turns to fire for assistance. The fire expresses its inability to help him as its food consists of fuel and:

تو نظر کن ببارگاری من - کہ ز جو بست خواب نارائی من
دل من تادریں ہوا باشد - صبر و آرامم از کجا باشد
Fol. 63B کمال نامہ

I pray, look to my concord, O my dear,
My fiery table of wood is set here.
Ever since my heart doth like all this to be,
Comfort and rest ~~are~~ never then for me.

Hence at the direction of fire, he turns to his soul for help in the following words:

فول. 63B کمال نامہ - روئے در تخت گاه عالم جان

I from this place of the Universe here
Have turned me to the throne of the Soul's sphere.

At this stage he travels all over the world and flies above heaven in his trance. He sees his religious director there busy in teaching the angels. He is invited there to receive his blessings. He comes to himself and finds his muse more eloquent than before to undertake this work.

The Book of Perfection consists of twelve chapters. They are a combination of the ethical subjects such as Silence, Faithfulness, Forgiveness, and the other mystic themes; for example Divinity, Mystics, The Violent Sheikhs, etc. There is the predominant element of mystic love illustrated with interesting stories. These are far reaching in their wholesome effect upon the mind in respect of their being attempted as a piece of good advice. This peculiar characteristic of the work is best illustrated by the advice of Khwājū to his own son Mujīr. It is a beacon light for each, not to speak of his son alone, to steer his boat clear through the storm of life.

In the end, he paints the apparition of his religious leader to whom he reads the book throughout. In a fit of ecstasy his master appreciates his excellent attempt in verse, confers his own Khirka (vesture) upon him as a recognition of his merits and entitles the work The Book of Perfection, thus:

دیدم آنہا کہ دیدم از نظرش - دیدم آنہا کہ دیدم از گذرش
قرقہ داد و اجازتم فرمود - راہ ملک حقیقت بنمود
چون بچشم کمال در من دید - خار نقصان زد از منم برچید
نام نظم کمال نامہ بناد - وز کمالیتیم وری بکشتاد
شد بجان و جہاں دلم واصل - کشف ارواح شد مرا حاصل
فول. 79A کمال نامہ

Criticism: The book begins and ends with a trance. It is to the credit of Khwājū as an artist that he moves in a circle all the world over and flies into the higher regions then on the airy wings of his soul; as he says:

فول. 79A کمال نامہ - کشف ارواح شد مرا حاصل

My mind knew the world and soul verily,
The soul's revelation has been to me.

This couplet on the authority of so many others of the same spirit that runs as follows:

کمال نامہ Fol. 62B کمال نامہ
 کمال نامہ Fol. 72B کمال نامہ
 کمال نامہ Fol. 73A کمال نامہ
 کمال نامہ Fol. 75B کمال نامہ
 کمال نامہ Fol. 76A کمال نامہ

proclaims to the world at large that the vehicle of his thought is quite fit to be called the Theme of the Soul here.

In such a labyrinth of mystical flights it is quite wonderful to note the direct lesson of self-sacrifice illustrated in the story of the hand to hand fight of a knight against His Holiness *Alī* (may Allah be pleased with him), ^{who} brought his opponent down and was ready to put him to the sword when the knight burst into tears. His Holiness *Alī* (may Allah be pleased with him) asked the reason for this and he replied how beautifully in the words of Khwājū with all the power of diction at our poet's command:

داد باسخ جوان جنب آئنگ - که چرا با شدم ز مردن تنگ
 دل من صید چشم آهوسیت - پائے میزد کندگیو سیت
 زلف آتش رخ قرام برد - و آتش عشقش آب کارم برد
 مدتی شد که شد دل از دستم - نیز دلتش بروں شد از مشتتم
 آنک خونم بچشم رعنا خورد - سر حیدر ز من تمنا کرد
 می شدم بک آیدم در چنگ - پایم آمد ز دست خویش بنگ
 دل شوریدہ داده ام برباد - جان هم اکنون بباد خواهم داد
 خیر مرداں چو آن سخن شنید - طبع از سر بریدش ببرد
 جیغ لعلند و از سرش برخاست - گفت ادرت کارے شود دریں راست
 منم اینک علی و اینک سر - خویش را بر سر آرد و غصه بخور
 تیغ بگریه و کام دل بردار - مرد از پیر این قدر در بار

Fols. 65A & 65B کمال نامہ

notwithstanding, he enjoys his mystic loré, but quite unexpectedly he sarcastically reprimands the mystics who are pretenders and admonishes the keepers of the mausoleum who are a nuisance to the public at large. It is highly commendable when he deduces thence the philanthropic spirit of social service, thus:

گنج وقتے بری کہ زر بخشی - بر سر آئی گئی کہ سر بخشی
 کمال نامہ Fol. 75B کمال نامہ

You'll get the treasure when you give gold here.
 You rise by sacrificing your own head dear.

In spite of such points of intrinsic worth discussed in the work, an average reader fails to admire the labour of Khwājū as he conceals his ideas under a layer of words. We reproduce here the verbosity of his

دوش چون پیر چرخ ارزق پوش - دلق نیلی کتید بر سر دوش
 شد پراز دود شب دماغ لپهر - و آسمان آب زد بر آتش مهر
 زلف ظلمت ز چرخ تاب گرفت - چشم اختر ز اشک آب گرفت
 خوش نظر شد مبهمان افروز - نشتن گشت بوستان افروز
 سبزه ز ابر فلک پراز گل شد - جرعه دایم افق پراز گل شد
 جعد شب بر عذار روز افتاد - تاب در ماه شب فروز افتاد
 چرخ سرگشته دامن سحاب - کرد پیر و انبیا دُر فوشاب
 تیره شب را ز مهر بدر مینر - اشک سیاره گشت دامن گیر
 صندوان سر ز بحر بر کردند - طاس پیروزه چرخ گیر کردند
 بر فلک عنبری تنق بستانند - وز غسق پرده بر افق بستند
 مهربان از فراز کو پیچید - در فلک نه خویش را در نیل
 کوه بر قلعه بیت سیمین زین - شد روان مهد ماه قله نشین
 محمل شاه چین رسید بشام - خشت زین در افتاده ز بام
 عالم از نافه نیف پز کرده - درج افلاک پز ز در کرده
 شرقیان چشم خیره در بسته - غریبان زلف تیره بر بسته
 باد ریحان نسیم روحانی - دم بدم کرده عنبر افشانی
 شمع میخوارگان فرو مرده - خون غم خوا رگان تهی کرده
 دل ساغر زباده بگرفته - مطربان رفته ساقیان خفته
 بزم و روی کشتان ز جرم خراب - چشم متمان ز عکس باد پز آب

He (Kizām ul-Mulk) carried on for thirty years, under Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh, the government of the vast empire of the Saljuks. Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum, vol. II, 444.
دولت کرد بیست و سه سال ازین وقت. کزید و فتح خان کرد نشست کزید نام
"He was... a devout and orthodox Sunni." A literary history of Persia from Dirdaugh to Sadi' by
آن زمان که درین خانق کرد از اولان گشتند که کشید از نام 1538
Prof. Browne

Kivām ul-Mulk Masūd, son of Hamīd-ul-Mulk Mahmūd, was the minister of Kizil Arslān. He was generous, modest, and good. He lived at Jaran-dāb till his death. Fakhr-ud-Dīn Ahmad, son of Kivām-ul-Mulk Masūd was a virtuous man, and wise minister at Azerbaijān. He died at Sivās. Zakī-ud-Dīn Mahmūd, son of Fakhrud-Dīn Ahmad, left Persia and went to Turān where he became the minister of Kā'ān. From Cathay he went to Azerbaijān where he met his end.

Izz-ud-Dīn's son of Bahā-ud-Dīn, was a brave warrior. He was a wise minister of Amīr Mubārīz ud-Dīn Muḥammad Muzaffar and a generous man.

He says in his praise:

نشانِ جہم زجامش می توان یافت - بہاءِ دیں زنامش می توان یافت
فلکِ جوں سیرتِ محمود دادش - ضایا عاقبتِ محمود بادش Fol. 150B گورنامہ

From his pomp Jamshīd's trace can ever be known,
The 'Faith's' worth' from his noble name be shown;
As the sky did bless him with conduct best,
His end, O Allah, be good, full of rest.

Beginning the work in the name of Allah and praise of the Holy Prophet (may the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him) Khwājū's taste for historical research poured forth in the form of verse highly admirable indeed, but his grotesque manner and grandiose style of showering praises equally upon all the personages in the same strain, leaves none to be distinguished from the other in point of rank. Though his work has the fundamental spirit of patriotism couched in flowery and ornate language, yet its mystic reflections overshadow every channel of thought here.

Criticism. Quite ingeniously Khwājū introduces all the persons of the family through the lips of Dānish Afruz, the old man, a character of his own fantasy. How beautifully does he derive the name Gauhar Nāmāh here by describing the Gauhar (origin) of every person through him! Not contented with this, he flies on the wings of imagination to the heavenly bodies to elicit from them the versification of his statement in each case. And lastly in the summary of the account of every person he revels in his pessimistic harangues.

This pessimistic outpouring is not abrupt in any way, but it is deduced under the systematic method of an artist. In the life-account of every minister, Khwājū depicts his death, thence he indulges in pessimistic lore - an easy passage to mysticism.

گلِ بہستانِ گیتی جملہ خارست - ہو اے ایمن ناسازگارست Fol. 149A گورنامہ

The flowers of the world's vale are brambles all.
The garden's air is never whole withal.

Still again, in the opening couplets of the planets' evidences, he
 levels in Kashf - revelation. This is mysticism pure and simple: he says:

شدم بیرون ازین قصر مریس - نهادم روے در چرخ مقوس Fol. 150 A گوهر نامه
 From this six-sided palace went out I,
 I set my face towards the bow-like sky.

Knowing conscious of the monotony of the dry theme under discussion, Khwājū
 introduces a lyrical poem after every life-account for the recreation of
 his readers to drive off his lethargy, but he ever paints the dark side
 of life here to add to the gloomy outlook of life in the mystic sense:-

غزل
 کہ درد دیدہ خوابم آید امشب - کز آب دیدہ در غرقابم امشب
 رها کن بر سر فراخم کہ بے دوست - ملول از بستر سنجابم امشب
 دلم کہ چون شفق درخون فتاد - اگر داد لبش عتابم امشب
 بسا ز آخر دلے چون عود بامن - کہ از سوز جگر در تابم امشب
 اگرچوں مہ برون آئی ز خرگاه - نباشد حاجت مامتابم امشب
 دلم در حلقہ زلف تو گوید - کہ همچوں مرغ در مفراجم امشب
 نیاید بے تو ذوق زندگانی - دل مجروح محنت یا بجم امشب
 اگرچوں شمع از در در نیائی - نباشد هیچ فتح البایم امشب
 کس در راه قریب جان سپاری - گراز خواجو ربا ئی یا بجم امشب Fol. 149 A گوهر نامه

Written: Probably before or in 732 A.H. - the date of writing the Humā-
u-Humāyūn, because it is a preliminary attempt of the Humā.
Khwājū absorbed the major portion of this work in the Humā. For
example:

نگار اسمن عارضاً دلبرا - بتا ماه رویا پری پیکرا
جبال تو شمع دیوانہ دل - دصال تو گنج است ویرانہ دل
ندیم چو پستہ دیاں تو بیچ - نہ بستم طمع در میان تو بیچ
اگر صبح دعویٰ کند صادق است - کہ بر مہر رویت چمن عاشق است
مرا بے سر زلفت آرام نیست - بروں از تو دل را دلارام نیست Fol. 37B سام نامہ
نگار اسمن عارضاً دلبرا - بتا ماه رویا پری پیکرا
جبال تو شمع است پروانہ دل - خیال تو گنج است ویرانہ دل
ندیم چو پستہ دیاں تو بیچ - نہ بستم طمع در میان تو بیچ
دو چشم تو اے لعبت مانوی - دو بیت سنائیست در مشنوی
دیاں تو بچو میان نیست ہست - وگر زانکہ گوئی چنان نیست ہست
اگر صبح دعویٰ کند صادق است - کہ بر مہر رویت چمن عاشق است
مرا بے سر زلفت آرام نیست - بروں از تو دل را دلارام نیست
ہما و ہمالیوں ص ۱۳۷

Published: Not as yet.

Metre: فوون فوون فوون فوون pertains to متقاب مغمن مقصور after the Shāhnāmāh of
Firdausī.

Couplets. 4082 couplets are in the Rotos A. no. 2627 of the Punjab Uni-
versity Library. The catalogue in the British Museum Vol. II,
gives 4209 couplets: vide catalogue of Persian Manuscripts
pp. 544b.

Dedication: It begins in praise of Allah, the Most Merciful, thus:

سپاس از خداے ایزد دریناے کہ از کاف و نون کرد گیتی بپاے Fol. 1A سام نامہ
and it ends in praise of the Prophet (the choicest blessings of
Allah be upon him) thus:-

چو از سام نامہ سخن شد تمام - ز ما باد بر روی نیکان سلام
ہزاراں درود و ہزاراں سلام - ز ما بر محمد علیہ السلام
ہزاراں درود و ہزاراں ثنا - ز ما باد بر روضہ مصطفیٰ Fol. 98A سام نامہ
No mention of any other man by way of dedication is made.

Source: It is derived from the Shāhnāmāh of Firdausī, in the words
of Khwājū himself:

کنوں باز باید شدن سوئے دار - بگفتار فردوسی پاک زار Fol. 1B سام نامہ

Tale: In the court of Minūchihr, the King of Irān, Sām was the
most prominent knight and the recipient of the robe of honour there. Winn-

ing the permission of his monarch, he rode to the hunting ground with a party of 11000 men. In the pursuit of a deer, he was led to a valley away from his retinue. Therein he saw a garden and a palace. A beautiful lady invited him to enter into it, and he accepted her offer. In the palace he read this on a blue curtain:-

زبالائے آن نیلگوں پر نیایاں - نوشتہ کہ اے سام روشن روان

دریں کاغذ فرخندہ چوں بغنوی - نگہ کن ہری پیکر معنوی

کہ نقشے بد نیگوں نہ از کفر دین - نہ بینی مگر دخت فنفور چیں

Sām was surprised, wept, and lost his heart. An angel said to him:

گذر کن ز دل تا بد بررسی - ز ہر در گذر تا بصد دررسی

In a trice, there was no garden and no palace but his horse. He went into reverie at this incident. The party arrived and saw Sām in a lamentable condition. He revealed the secret to them. They consoled and assured him of its being a charm:-

ترا جا دواز رہ بروں سے برد - بدیں نقش در دام خون سے برد

Needless of their advice, he started on a journey alone but Kālvād followed him as a sincere attendant. He came across a river where Samandev Zangī confronted him with 40 negroes. He got the upper hand and marched onward. After a journey of two stages a party of riders from Khāvar hailed him as their King. It was their custom at the death of their King to choose that man as their monarch who happened to come first across the party. Both he and Kālvād went to Khāvar as King and minister respectively. At this stage, Kālvād is enamoured of Āzar Afruz, a beautiful lady, and Sham-sa, the daughter of the late king, Shāvarān, falls in love with Sām. One morning Sām met Kālūsh, his cousin, who was in search of him from Irān. By chance they met Shamsa in a garden, there Kālūsh was charmed with her beauty. One night, Sām dreamt of Parīdukht, who said to him:

تو کے از پریدخت یاد آوری - کہ صید تو شد شمع خاوری

At morn, he started for China. On the path he met Sa'dān, the private trader of the daughter of China coming from Rūm, to whom he told that he was Kailas, son of Kailsān of Shām, a trader looted on the way by forty negroes. Sa'dān hailed Sām as his son and he warned him to avoid the Golden Fort - the residence of a demon Zand Jādū, who was a terror for that land.

Sām went there and killed him after breaking the spells of fire and the witch. Sām returned to Sa'dān with the news of treasure of Jamshīd and Arīnush, the daughter of the king of China, a captive in the Golden Fort. Sa'dān loaded 1100 camels with gold and silver and two camels of pearls and gems from thence. On their way to China, Sām was confronted by Makūkāl, the

brother of Zand Jādū, the demon. To avenge his brother, he gave battle to Sām with 1200 demons, but Sām was victorious over him in a pitched battle. Elated by the praise of Sa'dān and Parīnush at this conquest, Sām revealed his identity to Sa'dān and opened his heart to Parīnush in these words:

منم بینوای فقیر و حقیر - بدام کند پریدخت اسیر
تو ای در میان این زمان کار ساز - من بینوای کنون کار ساز

The party, consisting of Sa'dān, Sām, Parīnush and others left for China. Parīnush's arrival was hailed with rejoicings. She met Parīdukht and told her of her delivery, through the valour of a knight, from the prison of Zand Jādū who took her from her garden. The knight, she added, was in search of her (Parīdukht) leaving his home and hearth. Parīdukht gave a very wise reply:

مرا زوچه گر خسرو است گر گدا - و یا کرده در چین و ما چین سرا
گرفتم که سلطان مصر است نیز - نباشد چو یوسف بر ما عزیز
تو گر عاقلی، بچو فرزانتاں - مکن آشنائی به بیگاناں

Sa'dān waited upon the Faghfūr of China with Sām. He introduced him as his nephew hailing from Zābulistān and killing Zand Jādū, the demon, on the path. The king conferred a robe of honour in recognition of his valour. By chance, Sām saw Parīdukht at first and Parīdukht saw Sām after-wards. Both of them lost patience - a sign of mutual love. Parīdukht also sought help from Parīnush, as the following verse shows:

ندارم برون از تو فریاد رس - کنونم ازین درطه فریاد رس

On the receipt of the royal mandate, Sām started for the hunting ground in company with the king. On the way, he came to know that Parīdukht was going to her garden, Tūbā Ābād. Hence he accompanied the king very reluctantly. On pretext of having a pain, he left the King and met Parīdukht in her garden after killing the guard and then singing on his 'chūbak' (a watchman's rattle) like a musician. Both Sām and Parīdukht passed a merry time there. The old gardener warned him of this bold step, but Sām took his life.

The report reached the King who suppressed his wrath for a while, but in a drinking bout Sām was served with a large quantity of wine. In a state of unconsciousness he was bound and put into prison by the order of the King. This was done at the suggestion of the peers for Faghfūr wanted to kill him. From this cell, Sām was delivered through the help of a fair lady with whom he passed three nights and days happily:

بخلوت سه روز و سه شب دم زدند - دو عالم بیک جام می کم زدند

Thence he rode to the palace of Parīdukht but she rejected him in these words:

گہیت ششم بر سر فروز دجوہر - کہے آذر افروز خورشید ہر
کنوں خود سمن رخ ہوا در تست - گلستان رویش سمن زار تست
بروکز توام چارہ تنہا نیست - ز در دتو در مان شکیبا نیست

سام نام 46A + 45B

Sām humiliates himself and admits his weakness in the following words directly and indirectly:

کہ با کفر خم، سیج دساز یئی - نبود است الا نظر باز یئی Fol. 47A سام نام

but Parīdukht did not yield to his requests in these words:

ہ چشم جو اہو سمن روہی - مرا خواب فرخوش تا کہ دی Fol. 47B سام نام

Sām left her dejected in a stormy night addressing the clouds, rain and the other elements in his agony. Parīdukht was moved to sympathy at his grief. She followed him dressing herself as a warrior in order to give him battle. Both of them met at a spring where Parīdukht was vanquished but got her life on the disclosure of her identity. Here both Kālvād and Kālūsh met Sām very happily along with the retainers in the temple of a priest.

Through exchange of letters between Sām and Faghfūr, Sām came to China with Parīdukht. Faghfūr broke his pledges made in the letter and asked his Vazīr to kill Parīdukht. He told the King to send Sām to Nahangāl on the condition that if he won he would give him his daughter's hand. The King approved and said to Sām:

بدو گفت فقور کے گزرد کیس - دو پانصد ہزار از دیراں گزیں Fol. 46A سام نام

But Sām took Kālvād and Kālūsh only and started against Nahangāl.

At first Sām met Marghīn, his lieutenant and then Nahangāl. After a pitched battle where Kālūsh was carried by the demons off, Sām defeated Nahangāl. Kālūsh was restored to Sām. A drinking bout was held where against the laws of war, Nahangāl attacked Sām while he was asleep. As Kālvād and Kālūsh were holding a watch at the wise suggestion of Sām, danger was averted. Sām arose and bound Nahangāl.

Sām came to China with Nahangāl where he put the demon to death in the presence of the King who again broke his promise and at the suggestion of the Vazīr announced the death of Parīdukht while she was really concealed in an underground chamber of the Vazīr's house. Sām at the sight of the mock funeral bier left for a valley to mourn his lot. Parīzād went to the Vazīr's house and saw Parīdukht. By chance, Kamar Tāsh, the Vazīr's son, lost his heart to Parīzād. In order to gain his object, he thought of Sām, met Kālvād and revealed the secret of Parīdukht's safety. They rode in haste to find Sām. Having received information from a priest, they reached a caravan party who pointed out the foot of a mountain whence a cry

was heard. Following the track, Kālvād and Kāmar Tāsh found Sām weeping miserably in a consumed condition. He was cheered up at the news of the safety of Parīdukht but he swore to look to the love affair of Kāmar Tāsh on the recovery of Parīdukht.

They came to China. Kāmar Tāsh restored Parīdukht. Faghfūr gave battle with 90,000 men, while Sām had only 12,000 men. In the battle Faghfūr was killed. The marriage was solemnised now legally. Sām pardoned the Vazīr at the request of Kāmar Tāsh whom he made the King of China.

Sām left China with Parīdukht and married Kālvād to Āzar Afroz, and Kālūsh to Shamsa on his way to Īrān. Still more, he made Kālūsh the ruler of Khāvar. Sām waited upon Mīnūchihr who received him quite joyfully, heard his exploits, gave him a robe of honour, reduced the taxation of the people, gave wealth in charity on his safe return, and held a grand banquet lasting for forty days, then he went to Zābulistān, and led a happy life.

Criticism. Sām. He was the son of Narīman and a knight of the court of Mīnūchihr, the King of Īrān. Being a bondman to the phantom of Parīdukht, he left his motherland as a dutiful son and a loyal subject with a departing message to his mother and the monarch. From a man of such a cultured mind it could not be expected that he should address Shamsa thus
 برفت و بزاہل بشادی نشست۔ مدامش سے ارغوانی بدست Fol. 27A سām نام
 لیکن بے نصیب اش ز روز وصال - کہ مہر رخت را نباشد زوال Fol. 15A سām نام
 at the rejection of Kālūsh and still in his presence.

As a deliverer of the chivalrous age, he rescued Parīnush from the fort of Zand Jādū. His successful contest against Makūkāl is highly commendable in respect of the arrival of Kālvād and Kālūsh just like the appearance of the Black Knight, when Ivanhoe was hardly pressed by Front de-Bœuf in the tournament. In a fit of ecstasy, he sought the help of Parīnush as an intercessor with Parīdukht.

منم بینوائے فقیر و حقیر - بہ ام مکنید پریدخت ایر
 تو ای در میان این زمان کار ساز - من بینوارا کنوں کار ساز Fol. 27.B سām نام

His arrival in the court of the Faghfūr of China and kissing the ground is to the credit of the historical knowledge of our poet, for Hāfiz Abrū says in his Safar-Nāmah-i-Chin that it was the custom prevalent there. His rashness in taking the lives of the guard and the gardener are highly detested by every man. This crime cannot be condoned, though Khwājū tries to counter-balance it by virtue of presenting Sām as a singer and versifying his dialogue with Parīdukht who says:

کجا سām نیرم شہنمروز - کہ امشب شہم را بچو روز Fol. 39.B سām نام

(۱) د بادشاہ بر تخت نشست و مقدار صد ہزار آدمی در پائے تخت ز آواز دزد و سر بر زمین بنیادہ - سفر نامہ چین حافظ ابرو
 گشت معانی ص ۱۱۲

Sām replies: ¹³¹ Fol. 39 B سام نام
 The Faghfūr was justified in imprisoning him. Here is a queer feature of our poet who creates a situation and imitates Firdausī in bringing a woman to deliver him as Munīzah delivered Bezhan. At this stage here is a pen-picture of his disgusting humiliation and appealing self-admittance in these words:-

ببادے کہ آر دہن خاک پات - کہ فاکش ہر ار خوانی آب حیات
 کہ گر خاک گرد و تن خاکیم - گواہی دہد دل زنا پاکیم
 کہ بالکلر خم بیچ دساریمی - نبود است الا نظر بازیمی
 Fol. 47 B سام نام

after his rejection from the palace. Here is a happy contrast between Khwājū and Sir Walter Scott, for the former makes Sām's sweetheart fight against him and the latter persuades Marmion to take his beloved along with him in the garb of a page.

It is a peculiar trait of the valiant knight who overpowered the demons even that he sought refuge in the company of Parīdukht in a Church at the appearance of a dust-storm, lest he was pursued by the Faghfūr's soldiers. His return to China with Parīdukht at the request of the Faghfūr is a noble feature of his character. But he was hoodwinked by the King and induced to wage war against Nahangāl. Notwithstanding, he was faithful to his promise, while the king broke his pledge at the mock death of Parīdukht. Here we see the absence of a sober mind, when Sām weeps bitterly at the hours of dejection and enjoys wine in a fit of pleasure. Otherwise he was a true friend to Kalvād, Kalūsh, and Kamar Tāsh in fulfilling their requests. Still again, it is noteworthy that he bows down to Allah nearly during all his victories; for instance, at the conquest of Nahangāl he pours forth his mind:

بنالید در پیش یزدان پاک - رخ خود بمالید ہر تیرہ خاک
 کہ اے داویر آسمان وزیں - بہن فرو دولت تو داوی و دیں
 بدیوان مرا فتح دادی و زور - کہ شد دیدہ دشمنان جملہ کور
 بہ بستم ننگال را چنگ و یال - بکردم ہمہ لشکرش پائمال
 تو وادی بہن زور و فرو ہنر - بدیوان و پیلاں و شیران نر
 Fols. 74 B + 75 A سام نام

Parīdukht: She was the daughter of the Faghfūr of China, who lured Sām's heart in the hunting ground through her apparition. Our poet quite successfully painted a character wiser than Sām, who told his love to all, by virtue of keeping her secret till in a fit of unbalanced mind she disclosed it to Parīnush:

ندام ہر دں از تو فریادیں - کوغم ازیں در طفریادیں
 سام نام 33 B

or to Sām in the garden:

چو باهوش آمد بگفتا و را - که در دیده دل ترا هست جا Fol. 39 B سām نام

Though Khwājū paints her character as obstinate contrary to the normal mind of the fair sex, during her rejection of Sām who requested her love near the palace, yet this obstinacy looks more beautiful when it is changed into kindness by virtue of her following Sām quite romantically in the garb of a warrior and fighting against him so wonderfully. Her return to China along with Sām is an introduction to the coming distress by her concealment in the cell and the subsequent announcement of her death. Artistically it is very interesting to see her in this condition, yet it is hardly conceivable how she knew the ladies who loved Sām; as she says in a nutshell:

گیت شمس بر سر فروز دچومهر - گپے آذر افروز خورشید چهر
کنوں خود سخن رخ هوا دارتست - گلستان رویش سخن زار تست
بروکز توام چاره تنهائیت - ز در در تو در مان شکایت

Fol. 45 B & 46 A سām نام

This super-human feature makes Parīdukht less appealing than Rowena in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* for it is repugnant to the human mind.

Kālūsh: He was a son of Sām's uncle, as Khwājū says:

یکے بود همزاد سām دلیر - یکے بود همزاد آن نثر شیر Fol. 53 B سām نام

Here همزاد stands for Kālūsh and همزاد for Kālīvād. He was also a faithful character like Kālīvād. His meeting with Sām in the hunting-ground is quite romantic to the credit of our poet. His love for Shamsa and his weeping in the hours of dejection cannot be counted as weak points in his character, because everybody weeps in danger and love is quite natural. It seems rather surprising on his part to request Shamsa in the company of Sām and all the more at first sight:

بصد لاله گفت اے فروزنده ماہ - سرزدگر کنی بر غریبان نگاه
ترنج ترا چاشنی کرده ام - ولیکن زیب تو پشترده ام Fol. 14 B سām نام

He can be excused because what is love but that which upsets a man's mind. He spoke out thus in love. If any critic calls it a weak point, then it can be ignored on the fact of his true attachment to Sām even in the battle against Nahangāl, where he was caught and ultimately rescued by Sām. How creditable it is to Khwājū who as an artist gives labour its reward, for he marries Shamsa, and Kālūsh graces the throne of Khāvar. Shamsa. She was the daughter of Malik Shāvarān of Khāvar and the lover of Sām. It is quite possible that (1) she disclosed her secret to Āzar Afroz, and (2) she threw the orange as a sign of inviting the attention of Sām in the garden; but it is unnatural as a woman that she requested Sām's love, while Kālūsh was also present:

دل چو فتادست در قید تو - تو صید پریدخت دمن صید تو Fol. 14 B سām نام

If this is to be ignored on the grounds of her unbalanced attitude of mind in love, it is wonderful to conceive even how she knew that Sām was the lover of Parīdukht; otherwise the poet has justified her right to be the queen of Khāvar in place of her father and the consort of Kālūsh, the knight.

Kālvād. He was a sincere attendant of Sām throughout the plot. He followed him through thick and thin. Even his life was jeopardized in the battle between Sām and Nahangāl. It was this virtue that worked as its own reward in his deliverance. He was the man whom Kāmar Tāsh took into his confidence in making a search for Sām. This reflects his character as a true gentleman. This is also shown when he admitted his fault in using unseemly words on behalf of Sām in his love-suit: ^{تر اعیب کردم به یواری} ^{که معذور بودی بغیر نامی} ^{Sam نام} after his love for Āzar Afruz. All these noble qualities stood in good stead for him in winning her hand through Sām.

Āzar Afruz. She was a lady of Khāvar and an intimate friend of Shamsa's. The poet, in an artistic manner, brings her near while Sām is engaged in a drinking bout, where she charmed Kālvād with her beauty. He fell unconscious. On Sām's questioning her, she replied:

جو سلطان چشمم در آمد بصید - در افتاد این مرغ لاغر بقیه
Fol. 16B Sam نام

Still she says:

مرغ از دم آهوی را بتر - که او شیر نر بود و من شیر گیر
Fol. 16B Sam نام

These replies indicate the forward character of the Sām-Nāmah among the women folk because variety cultivates interest, and the poet is generous enough ^{to give her} what she desired, that is, the marriage-tie with Kālvād.

Sa'dān. He was an old worldly wiseman of Irān - a trader and a private supplier of Parīdukht, hailing from Rūm with goods. He was quite hospitable in receiving a stranger, our hero, as his son incognito Kailas or Vīs:

مراقبلس قیلسان شاهست نام - بچشم هوا و بشام مقام
Fol. 17B Sam نام

He was happy at Sām's capture of the Golden Fort whence enormous wealth was gained, but he complained of his company at the prolonged battle against Makūkāl:

در آن جنگ سدان بازارگان - بنزیمت پیزیرفته به از گواں
بنم گفت آید درین کار زار - چه شد چال و یس آن دلاور سوار
چه بود این بلا کامد اندر سرم - بود تا ازین ورطه من جاں برم
Fol. 25B Sam نام

But, in the same breath, he began to praise him on his victory, thereby showing his own double-character, and all the more when Sām revealed his identity. It is, however, a wise stroke of the pen of our poet to bring this character so as to introduce Sām to the Faghūr of China, as his

cousin from Zabulistān. He is not so interesting, however, as Isaac, the Jew, in Ivanhoe.

Faghfūr. He was the King of China, and the father of Parīdukht, and a strong ruler. He was hospitable in receiving Sām through Sa'dān, and kind also to confer upon him the robe of honour at receiving information of his chivalrous exploits. He was right to put Sām into jail as a punishment for killing the guard and the gardener. Though he did not want to marry his daughter to Sām for certain national considerations, he was misled by his minister chiefly in his opposition, and tried to avoid the matrimonial alliance. Otherwise, he was a brave man of a firm resolution in waging war against Sām at the cost of his life. Our poet has done full justice to him as a man honest to his own view of life.

Vazīr. This was the minister of the Faghfūr whom he entangled in all these dangers that cost him his life. Had the minister given sound advice to the King that he should marry his daughter to Sām, the exploits ending in Nahangāl's defeat and his murder would not have taken place. That Parīdukht was concealed in the chamber and that false news of her death got afloat was only a result of the eccentricity of the Vazīr's brain. He did not attempt in any way to save the king's life and thus proved true to his salt; on the other hand, he saved his own life by begging pardon from Sām. Our poet is very successful in painting the character of a double-dealer.

Kamar Tāsh. He was the son of the Vazīr of the Faghfūr of China and the lover of Parīnush. He is the master-key of the plot of the Sām Nāmah. At the sight of Parīnush when she came to pay a visit to Parīdukht in the chamber, he lost his heart to her and sought a remedy in assisting Sām. He waited upon Kāvād and divulged the secret of Parīdukht's disappearance. He was wise enough to persuade Kāvād to search for Sām, whom he managed to find through his enterprising spirit. Thus he gained his aim and the throne of China through his sagacity and labour. Yet he was a dutiful son in that he intervened to get forgiveness for his father, the Vazīr, from Sām.

Parīzād or Parīnush. She is a beautiful character in the Sām Nāmah. She introduces Sām to Parīdukht after her deliverance from the cell of Zand Jādū, the demon, through the valour of Sām. By virtue of her love for

Parīdukht, Khwājū finds an artistic means of divulging the secret of Parīdukht's place of safety. In her heart she was an admirer of Sām and she poured forth his praises on his victory over Makūkāl.

پریوش آمد در آندم به پیش - بهوید دست یل شیرکیش
ز سام نریمان بے عذر خواست - پریوش کمتر کنیز تراست
تو کردی مرا زان بد اختر خلاص - چو ز آوری بروی از رصاص
بیاداش کار تو شرمندہ ام - ولے تاکہ من زندہ ام بندہ ام Fol. 27 A سام نامہ

It is to her credit that Sām took her into his confidence then and told her his love for Parīdukht.

منم بینوائے فقیر و حقیر - بدام مکند پریدخت امیر
تو ای درمیاں این زمان کار ساز - من بینوارا کنوں کار ساز Fol. 27 B سام نامہ

How fine is it that Parīdukht sought her help also when she fell in love with Sām at sight of him in her father's court.

ندام بروں از تو فریاد رس - کنونم ازین ورطہ فریاد رس Fol. 33 B سام نامہ

It shows her pleasant nature. We admire the skill of our poet in painting her character thus.

The Sām Nāmah's Author.

The classical writers have not mentioned the Sām Nāmah at all.

Dr Erdmann and Prof. Browne are also silent about it. But Dr Rieu says, "The Sām Nāmah is a very late composition ascribed, probably falsely, to Khwājū Kirmānī." (p.130. Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum, London, 1895); and Sa'īd Nafīsī says, "The Masnavī Sām Nāmah (it is not known, possibly is Khwājū's)" and Dr Masrūr says, "The Sām Nāmah is another poetical work of Khwājū's. The writer has not seen it as yet."

Without giving our opinion, we can only quote the couplets of the Sām Nāmah and the Humā-u-Humāyūn of Khwājū to prove, in the words of the poet himself, that the Sām Nāmah is a preliminary version of the Humā-u-Humāyūn. Hence he incorporated the Sām Nāmah in the Humā-u-Humāyūn.

دو چشمش چو برسام نامی قتاد - در آید بسوئے دلادر چو باد
بخندید بر خویشتن کامگار - بغریب مانند ابر بہار
خدائے زمین و زمان را بخواند - پس آنگہ زمیں کو ب را پیش راند
کمانی کہ گر شاسب در شصت داشت - رواں لحظہ سام از میاں بر فراشت Fol. 18 B سام نامہ

چو چشمش براں شاہ شامی قتاد - در آید بسوئے شہنشاہ چو باد
بلرزید (بر) خویشتن شہر یار - بغریب مانند ابر بہار
خدائے زمین و زمان را بخواند - پس آنگہ زمیں کو ب را پیش راند
کیانی کماں را در آورده زہ - برآمد ز تیر فلک بانگ زہ

ہمدہایوں ص ۹۶

ن دراصل افراشت

ص ۳۳ مقدمہ ناشر روضۃ الانوار طبرانی

(۱) مثنوی سام نامہ (کہ معلوم نیست حتماً از خواجہ باشد) ص ۴۵ سید نفیسی
(۲) یکے دیگر از کتب منظومہ خواجہ سام نامہ است کہ هنوز بہ نظر نگارندہ نرسیدہ
ہمدہایوں ص ۹۶

نگار اسمن عارضاً دلبرا - بتا ماه رویا پری پیکرا
 جبال تو شمعیت دیوانہ دل - وصال تو گنج است دیرانہ دل
 ندیم چو پستہ دیان تو ہیج - نہ بستم طمع در میان تو ہیج
 اگر صبح دعوے کند صادق است - کہ بر مہر رویت چومن عاشق است
 Fol. 37 B سام نامہ

نگار اسمن عارضاً دلبرا - بتا ماه رویا پری پیکرا
 جبال تو شمعیت دیوانہ دل - خیال تو گنج است دیرانہ دل
 ندیم چو پستہ دیان تو ہیج - نہ بستم طمع در میان تو ہیج
 دو چشم تو اے لبت مالوی - دو بیت سنائیت در مشنوی
 دیان تو همچو میان نیست هست - و گر زانکہ کوئی چنان نیست هست
 اگر صبح دعوے کند صادق است - کہ بر مہر رویت چومن عاشق است
 ہما و ہمایوں ص ۱۳۷

بروں آمد از پردہ چوں مہ زمیغ - دو جادوش افگندہ بر مہر تیغ
 فرد ہشتہ برقع برخ چوں پری - بجولان در آمد چو کبک دری
 چو بر چرخ تیرہ نظر مے فگندہ - قمر پیش تیرش سیر مے فگندہ
 چو از شب برا فگندہ مشکیں نقاب - برفت آفتابش از سر چشمہ نقاب
 سام نامہ
 Fols. 91 B + 92 B

بروں آمد از پردہ چوں مہ زمیغ - کشیدہ دو جادوش بر مہر تیغ
 فرد ہشتہ برقع زرخ چوں پری - بجولان در آمد چو کبک دری
 چوں بر چرخ تیرہ نظر مے فگندہ - قمر پیش تیرش سیر مے فگندہ
 چو از مہ برا فگندہ مشکوں نقاب - برفت آب سر چشمہ آفتاب
 ہما و ہمایوں ص ۲۶۳

Notwithstanding, there are certain familiar words of the poet's underline below which bear testimony to the fact that the Sām Nāmah is a preliminary work of Khwājū's on the authority of his own words used in his Divān:

① شکستہ سمن عارضان سیم ہر - بشکب شکبہ نریخ شکبہ شکر سام نامہ FA. 32A
 دیدم از دور بے کا کلکش مشکینک - دہنش شکبہ و چوں شکبہ کر شیرینک دیوان خواجو FA. 163B
 شکبہ شکبہ تو شکبہ شکبہ آمد - حلقہ لعل تو درج گہر آمد دیوان خواجو FA. 180B

② چو ایوب در بند کرباں مباحش - چو یعقوب در بند حراماں مباحش سام نامہ FA. 17A
 میں خواجو ہم گرسوئے عواقت مگر - صبر ایوب خدھی دیوان خواجو FA. 161B
 اے یار عزیز اندہ دوری تو چہ دانی - من دایم و یعقوب و خیال رخ فرزند دیوان خواجو FA. 103A

③ چو در در لعل طاق دیبا بکوش - چہ بہ مشکبو باش و پشیمنہ پوش سام نامہ FA. 17A
 دریا فگندہ ذیل بغل طاق نستقی - ہر دم مردس غنچہ ہر دل آید از حرم دیوان خواجو FA. 205B

Firdausi and Khwājū.

In respect of imitating the Shāhnāmah of Firdausi, there are some points of similarity as well as others where Khwājū is original. Here are the resemblances:

1. The beginning of the tale with the introduction of the dihkān:-

سخن گوئے دیہقان فرخ نژاد - چنین از پریہ خت چیں کرد یاد سام نامہ FA. 49B

۱۳۱۲
چنین گفت پرمایہ دہقان پیر - سخن ہرچہ زو بشنوی یادگیر
شاهنامہ ص ۳۳ لم جلد چہارم طہران ۱۳۱۲

2. The using of ^{ہے} an archaic Persian word, as well as ^{ابا} for ^{الیف redundant} often to be met with in the Shāhnāmāh:

ہے آمد آں دیو مانند کوہ - ابا ہیبت و ہول بس باشکوہ Fol. ۶۵ A سام نامہ

چو کمرے نشست از برگاہ نو - ہے خواندندے درا شاہ نو

۱۳۱۲
شاهنامہ فردوسی ص ۲۶۹ جلد چہارم طہران ۱۳۱۲

3. The style of decorating the City after the marriage of Parīdukht described by Khwājū and that described by Firdausī after the marriage of the daughter of the Khākān of China with Nāushīrvān:-

ز ہر عروسی یل کامیاب - بیاراست ایوان بذر خوشاب

بفرمود تا شہر و صحرایے ہیں - گرفتند در فرش دیبائے ہیں

ہزار اختر کوہ کوہان ہر - بدیبائے رنگیں و خلخال زر

فرستادگان ماہ شکنیں ہرند - ہزریں عاری پچیں آورند

ہزار آتشیں روئے سمیں بدن - چو طوطی شکر خاوشیں سخن

چو شد چیں ز زلف تباں شک ہار - ہم خاک چیں گشت مشک تبار

Fol. ۹۵ A سام نامہ

دلے شاد با ہدیہ و بانثار - ہمہ میزبان دہمہ دوستدار

بعبستند آئین بشہر و براہ - درم ریختند از بروخت شاہ

باموے و راہ بیابان مرو - زمیں بود یکسر چون پرتقدرو

چنین قابہ بسطام دگرگاں رسید - تو گفتی زمین آسمان را ندید

ز آئین دگنبد بشہر و بدشت - ہر اے کہ شکر ہے درگذشت

ز ایوان بچے کودک و مردوزن - براہ بیت چیں شدند انجمن

ز بالابیشاں درم ریختند - ز مشک و ز عنبر ہے بیختند

بر آمیختہ تشہائے خلوق - جہان ہر شد از نالہ کوس و بلوق

ہے یال اسپاں پُر از مشک وے - شکر با درم ریختہ زیر پے

ز بس نالہ نامے و چنگ و رباب - نید ہر زمیں جائے آرام و خواب

۱۳۱۲
شاهنامہ فردوسی ص ۶۲ لم جلد چہارم طہران ۱۳۱۲

4. Our poet gives vent to his mystical views when Sām is in the misery of captivity, like Firdausī who pours forth his afflicted mind in describing the imprisonment of Bezhan:-

چنین است آئین این چرخ پیر - کہ گاہے کہاں باشد و گہ چو تیر

خار است و مستی و نخلست و خار - نشاطت و اندوہ گنجست و مار Fol. 41 B سام نامہ

بدیں سان کہ بینی مرا خاں و ماں - از آہن زمیں و ز سنگ آسمان

بکندم دل از این سراے پہنچ - ز بس درد و سختی و اندوہ و رنج

Signs of difference between the two poets are as follows:-

1. Our poet writes a letter from Sām to Faghfūr in a verbose and difficult style while Firdausī has a letter from Nāushīrvān to Khākān in simple and easy style:-

دبیر قلم زن قلم برگرفت - بسر نامہ در لؤلؤ تر گرفت

لوازندہ نامہ سر فراز - طرازندہ خسروانی طراز

نگارنده پیکر معنوی - گذارنده نامم خسروی
بمشک آب بر زرد دان خامه - کم مشکس کند نامہ ورنامہ را
قلم در زماں بر خطش مرنباد - ز درج شبہ عقد گوهر کشاد

Fols. 55 A + 55 B سام نام

بفرمود تا پیش او شد دبیر - ابا مویہ مویہ ان ارد شیر
بقطاس بر نامم خسروی - نویسنده بنوشت بر پہلوی
قلم چون دوزخ و الجہنم بست - سرنامہ کرد آفرین از نخست
بدان داد گر کو پہر آفرید - بلند کی و زرقی و مہر آفرید
ہمہ بندگانیم و او پادشاست - خرد بر توانائی او گواست
نفس جز بفرمان او نگذرد - پے مور بے او زمین نسپرد

سہ دیگر کجا دوستی خواستی - بہ ہیونہ حال دل بیاراستی
چو تو بزم جوئی مرا نیست رزم - نختہ د کسے رزم ہرگز بہ بزم
نہادند بر نامم بر مہر شاہ - بیاراست آن خسروی تاج و گاہ

شاعنامہ ص ۴۵۴-۴۵۳ جلد چہارم طبع ۱۳۱۲

2. The pen-picture of the battle seems to be the production of the mind of our poet, but Firdausi is an eye-witness:

ز غفور ہنہ صد ہزاراں سوار - ز سام نریان دہ و دو ہزار
ز ناگہ دلیران ایران زمین - کشو دند ہر قلب دشمن کین
بخیل شمعین در آمد قشت - بشد کار ترکان بیک رہ ز دست
نہ جائے قرار و نہ روئے ستر - نہادند ناکام رو در گریز
سپہدار زابل مغان دادہ تاب - بخون سواراں سنان دادہ آب
قضا را بغفور چین در رسید - شمعین چو آن شیر دل را بہید
رخ آو در پیش و بیک پیش راند - یل یل یل یل اسب را در چاند
بر آورد از نیل و از شاہ گرد - ہزد شریف شاہ را مات کرد
بیار زید جنگ و بغل بر کشود - بخنجر سرش را ز تن در رلود

سام ۴ م 84B, 85A + 85B

خرد شہ بر آمد بگرداں رعد - از انیر وئے رستم و ز آں رعد
بر فتنہ ہر دو ز قلب سپاہ - بیکسو کشیدند از آو در گاہ
چو از لشکر آں ہر دو تنہا شدند - ہزیر یکے تند بالا شدند
ہمے تا ختنہ اندراں رزم گاہ - دو سالار ہر یکہ گر کینہ خواہ
خرد شہ بر آمد ز رستم چو رعد - یکے تیغ زد بر سر اسب
لکا و زرد در آمد ہر - جبہ انشت از او بعد پر فاشخ
بر آہنخت رستم یکے تیغ تیز - بہان تا غایہ بہ در ستیز
ہمے خواست از تن سرش را برید - ز گرد سپاہ این مرا اندید
فرود آمد از پشت زمین بلند - ہزد ہر کمر بر سر پالنگ
ہوشیہ دیدہ ایر رستم ز گرد - بشد سعد پویاں ز جائے نبرد

یکے تیغ زد بر سر ترنگ اوی - کہ خون اندر آمد ز ترکش بر دے
چو رضای رستم ز خون تیرہ گشت - جہا بخوئے تازی بر او چہرہ گشت
دگر تیغ زد بر سر و گردنش - بجاک اندر افکند جنگی تنش

3. Khwājū carries another lady for the deliverance of Sām from the cell -

an indication of luxury in his own words, while Firdausī guides Munīzah as a liberator of Bezhan from the prison - a proof of fidelity:

گرم چو پریدخت بنو دجال - بگو گیس مبارک ندارم بقال

Fols. 42 B + 43 A سām نامہ

وینک چو میسوزم اے دلفروز - چہ باشد کہ با من ببازی سہ روز

بلغت این و بنیاد پیشش طعام - پس آنکہ بگردش در آورد جام

Fol. 43 A سām نامہ

بجلوت سہ روز و صہ شب دم زدند - دو عالم بیک جام مے کم زدند

منیرہ بیامہ بدان چاہ سر - دواں دخورش باے گرفتہ بہر

نوشتہ بدستار چیرے کہ برو - چنان ہم نوشتہ بہ بیشن سپرد

شاهنامہ فردوسی جلد دوم صفحہ ۳۶۶ طہار

4. Our poet in the representation of Sām as a singer in the garden of Parīdukht, says that he sang an ode (غزل) but the form of versification put in his mouth is that of Maṣnavī, and Firdausī does not commit himself thus :

بزدخک بر ساز و آغاز کرد - بیام این غزل را بدیں ساز کرد Fol. 37 B سām نامہ

while the song begins as follows:

نگار اسمن عارضہ دلبرا - بتا ماہ رویا پری پیکرا

جال تو شمعست و پروانہ دل - وصال تو گنج است ویرانہ دل Fol. 37 B سām نامہ

Anachronism:

Khwājū has every right to use any word or write any language he likes for in his own capacity as a poet he is the king of words on the condition that there should be no error of time. For instance, he cannot make his character use or speak the words of the Holy Kūrān, while the character concerned is of the pre-Islamic age. In other words, he makes the secretary of Fagnūr write کن فکان in a letter to Sām in the following passage:

فرو کرد بر کن فکان قہرمان - رواں را خرد داد دتن را رواں Fol. 57 B سām نامہ

Here کن فکان is in the Holy Kūrān as follows:
 اِنَّمَا اَمْرٌ ؕ اِذَا اَنَادَ نَسِيْطًا اَنْ يَّقُوْلَ لَهُ كُنْ فَيَكُوْنُ ۝
 سورہ یٰس آیت ۸۹

Still again, how could a pre-Islamic Chinese name the garden of Parīdukht

بلغت پریدخت فغفور چین - یکے باغ دارد چو خلد بریں

مراد را بود طوبے آباد نام - در و ساخته قصرے از سیم خام Fol. 35 B سām نامہ

in face of the fact that طوبے is a word of the Holy Kūrān, as follows:-

طُوْبٰى لِّهٖمَّ وَحَسْبُنَا بِسُوْرَةِ الرَّعْدِ اٰیٰتِ ۲۹

Such anachronism cannot be expected at the hands of a poet of such a high reputation! If we try to defend our poet by stating that the word طوبی could be used for literary purposes, then it is next to impossible to prove that Arabic Literature spread far and wide before the message of Islam was announced by the Holy Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him). In spite of this anachronism, on the internal evidence of the poet himself, we strongly maintain that the Sām Nāmah is the work of Khwājū.

Introduction. In addition to the panegyrics, lyrics, and romances, our poet attempted other poems. They are called the Tarkīb-band (a strophe-poem), Musammat (multiple-poem), Mustazad, Rubāī, Mukāṭṭa'āt, and a short satirical Maḡnavī. Every poem is full of charm and beauty in its own capacity. A few of them are mentioned in the following order for the interest of the readers.

Tarkīb-band

Tarkīb-band is a long poem, called a "strophe-poem" (1) in English or a song with a refrain or "burden" (2). It consists of many stanzas. The number of couplets in each stanza varies from five to eleven. (3) Each "band" or strophe is separated from the other by a couplet of the same metre with a different rhyme. If a strophe is separated by a different couplet, it is called "Tarkīb-band"; otherwise, "tarjī-band", as it is separated by the same couplet.

Among the Kaṣīdās, Khwājū has attempted four "Tarkīb-bands" and no "tarjī-band" at all, as is apparent from the Rotos of the Dīvān-i-Khwājū (British Museum, Accession no. 1768) and those of the Dīvān-i-Khwājū (Kapur-thala State Library, Accession no 1658) available in the Panjab University Library. Their opening couplets are as follows:-

<p>Fol. 19 B دیوان خواجو</p> <p>Fol. 32 A دیوان خواجو</p> <p>Fol. 38 A دیوان خواجو</p> <p>Fol. 41 A دیوان خواجو</p>	<p>چوں پدید آمد ز زریں سیفت چرخ مستدیر - طلعت سلطان زریں تاج رنگاری سریر</p> <p>مژده مقدم مخدوم. جہاں آوردند - خبر داد و دران زمان آوردند</p> <p>جرعہ خورم و سرمست و خراب اقدام - آتش دیدم و از دیدہ در آب اقدام</p> <p>پست شکریت آنچہ تو داری نہ دہن - شکر عسکریت آنچہ تو باری نہ سخن</p>
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For a criticism of them we refer our readers to the chapter on Panegyrics where they have been dealt with at length.

Musammat.

Musammat is a kind of "multiple-poem" (4) according to Rückert. The word is derived from "simt" meaning "a thread upon which beads or pearls are strung." (5) As the words of this kind of poem are arranged and set like pearls in a string, it is called "musammat". The part of poem varies from four to ten hemistiches.

A combination of four hemistiches is called 'murabbā'; five, 'mukhammas'; that of six, 'musaddas' (hexameter); that of seven, 'musabbā'; that of eight 'musamman'; that of nine 'musamman'; that of ten 'mu'shshar'.

Our poet has attempted four "musammat". Two of them are in the form of Kaṣīdās. One is Mukhammas and the other Mu'shshar. The other two are in the form of Mustazads. (2) A literary history of Persia by Prof. Brown, p. 41. (3) A literary history of Persia by Prof. Brown, p. 41. (4) A literary history of Persia by Prof. Brown, p. 41. (5) A literary history of Persia by Prof. Brown, p. 41.

برآمد آن مه خورشید منظر از خرگاه - کشوده بند بلفظاق و کثر نیاده کلاه
 باز طاق فلک را بال زر بر بسته اند - رنگها بر پائے زاغان سیه پر بسته اند
 follows: دیوان خواجہ Fol. 39 A
 The other two are in the lyrics. Both of them are in the same form,
 viz. Mukhammas. One of them begins as follows:-
 Fol. 174 A دیوان خواجہ

بے طلب در نظر نیاید یار - بے طرب بر گنج گل نمایه خار
 The remaining one has been quoted in the chapter on the Lyrics under
 the reference Fol. 168a. Besides, we have already discussed the "musammat"
 in the chapter on the Panegyrics.

Mustazād.

⁽¹⁾
Mustazād is an "increment-poem". It is a kind of poem in which a
 hemistich or a couplet is followed regularly by a short line in connexion
 with the very hemistich or couplet to make its sense complete. Prof.
 Browne has quoted a very nice "increment-poem" of Khwājū's in his Persian
 Literature, Vol. iii, page 228. We reproduce another in its composition
 strange but a model of lucidity: 3

گل و شمشادے هست	تو میپندار که هر طرف چمن چون رخ و قامت است ای سیمین تن
نرخ شکر شکست	در دیان تو نلغجه سخن گریه شیرین سخت گاه سخن
در سیر زلف تو بست	هر که رخسار دلفروز تو دید دل شوریده بود به اسن
همه خورشید پرست	هندوانند در آن زلف سیاه روز و شب کرده با آتش مسکن
که کجا خواهی جست	هر زمانه من دلسوفه را به وداد شک و بگیرد دامن
قدح باده بدست	فتنه با مشد که در آئی روز بینه مست از در کاشانه من
نغمه بلبل مست	گوش کن ناله و خواجو بصبح چو بوقت سحر از طرف چمن

دیوان خواجہ Fol. 174 A

Rubāi.

Rubāi is a quatrain. It was invented by Rudagī. Some refer its
 origin to Abū Shakūr of Balkh. ⁽¹⁾ It is derived from the word 'rub' mean-
 ing four. As it consists of four hemistiches, it is called Rubāi. In
 Persian it is called "du-baiti". The first, second, and fourth hemistiches
 may or may not have the same rhyme, but all the lines are of the same
 metre "hazaj". Prof. Browne says, "Khwājū has ... a few quatrains, in-
 cluding one about the dove crying 'kú-kú?' (Where, where? are the great
 ones of yore departed) generally ascribed to 'Umar Khayyām." There is no
 quatrain by our poet in the Rotos, Accession nos. 1768 and 1658, but from
 a separate Roto, Accession no 2239, the Rubāi'yāt-i-Khwājū, we know that
 there are 516 quatrains. Chiefly they are mystic in character. As he
 says in a self-introspective mood:-

ای دل در جہاں بدیدہ جان می بین - پدید آتش دیدہ و پنهان می بین

تا صورت جان در رخ جانان بینی - در آتش جان رخ جانان می بین
 رباعیات خواجہ Fol. 271 A

Look at the world with the eyes of the soul, O mind!
Here open thy eyes, to see in secrecy, be kind!
So the soul's form thou mayest see in Beauty's face
In the mirror of the soul Beauty's face dost find.

Here is an interesting pun made on the word "dil-bar" by different

poets. Our poet says:

چوں جان دِل از برای دلبر دارم - از دلبر خود چو دِل بر دارم (a)

بے سرو قدے کہ از من آزاد آید - مانند چار دست نبر سر دارم رباعیات خواجو Fol. 445A

Bābā Tāhir says in the same way:

اگر دِل دلبر و دلبر که ام است - و اگر دلبر دِل را چه نام است

دِل و دلبر بهم آمیخته وینم - ند و نم دِل که و دلبر که ام است دیوان باباطاهر ص ۱

Umar Khayyām writes thus:-

دانی که چه مدت بیست اے دلبر ما - بایں جھتے نرفته از بر ما

خود کس نفرتی و نپرسی هرگز - تا بے تو چپاے گذر دبر بر ما رباعیات عرفیام ص ۳ مطبع نای نولکشور کنگنو صفحہ ۱۱۹۲ است ۱۱۹۲ عیسوی

Abū Sa'īd Abil Khair says thus:-

اے دلبر ما مباش بے دلبر ما - یک دلبر ما به از صد دلبر ما

نه دلبر ما نه دلبر اندر بر ما - یا دلبر ما فرست یا دلبر ما رباعیات ابوسعید ابوالخیر مطبع کرمی لاهور ص ۲۲

For the interest of the readers we reproduce another mirror of

these poets in the form of a dialogue:-

گفتم جانم گفتم زبان میسر آئی - گفتم بنگر گفتم که رویم منمائی

گفتم بنشین گفتم ز پیشم برخیز - گفتم که بیا گفتم برو تراز مخائی رباعیات خواجو Fol. 446B

گفتم که سر زلف تو بس سر خور دست - گفتا که تو تن بنه اگر سر خور دست

گفتم روز ز قاهت بر خورم - گفتا که ز سرو کسے بر خور دست رباعیات عرفیام صفحہ ۲۲

گفتم چشم گفتم بر آیش میدار - گفتم جگر گفتم با آیش میدار

گفتم که دلم گفتم چه داری در دل - گفتم غم تو گفتم نگایش میدار ص ۲۲ رباعیات ابوسعید ابوالخیر مطبع کرمی لاهور

Bābā Tāhir has no quatrain of this type.

Still again we quote some quatrains of the same ردیف of the above

poets:-

تا چند ز پیشم خویش رانی مارا - روز بفلط بخوان من شیر مارا

دانی که چه فرمود خضر موی را - کن نفاع و لاکن ضرا را رباعیات خواجو Fol. 443B

تن محنت کشی دیرم خدایا - دل حشر کشی دیرم خدایا

ز مشوق مکن و داد غیر بی - بسینه آتشی دیرم خدایا دیوان شعر باباطاهر ص ۱

ساقی قمع که کار سادست خدا - در رحمت خود بنده نواز است خدا

خود به بهار و با طاعت میفرش - کز طاعت خلق بے نیاز است خدا رباعیات عرفیام ص ۳

(a) There is another quatrain of our poet about this pun irrespective of rhyme in the first two hemistiches. It runs thus:-

چوں دلبر ما دل برود از بر ما - نئے دلبر ما بماند و نئے دل بر او

خون از دل ریش ما بتگ آمده بود - او نیز رداں گشت و برقت از بر او رباعیات خواجو Fol. 453B

یارب بحمد و علی و زهرا - یارب بحسین و موسیٰ و آل عبا

از لطف برآر حاجتم در دوسرا - بی منت طلق یا علی الاعلیٰ رباعیات ابوالخیر ص ۲

The quatrains of Khwājū in the Rotos are not in alphabetical order; but they are arranged here thus:-

ا	6
ب	9
ت	113
ج	2
د	127
ر	30
ز	5
س	4
ش	14
ع	1

ف	2
ق	1
ک	3
ل	23
م	49
ن	37
و	16
ه	18
ی	56

The quatrain mentioned above by Prof. Browne runs thus:-

چوں لعبت باغ پرده بکشتو دازرو - و افکنده بنفشه تاب در طلقه مو

با فاخته گفتیم که بهار آمد باز - فریاد برآورد که کو کو کو کو

There is another very fine quatrain of our poet which refers to the chapter "The Unity" of the Holy Kūrān. It flows so sweetly:-

بار صبح که از پرده بردن آید گل - از مرغ کمر در چین افتد غلغل
گلستانک زند بلبله چوں بلبل مست - کاسه مطرب خوش سراے قل قل قل قل

The word قل is repeated four times and the beauty lies in this way that there are four chapters of the Holy Kuran which begin with the word قل,

namely: (۱) قل یا ایها الکافرون - (۲) قل هو الله احد - (۳) قل اعوذ برب الفلق - (۴) قل اعوذ برب الناس

There is a short satirical poem in the form of Maṣnavī, which will be mentioned after the "mukatta'āt" under the heading of Satire, *Ḥikā' Allāh*.

Mukatta'āt.

Mukatta'āt are fragments or short poetical poems. "A Kitā's couplets are not less than two and there is no limit for many" (1) The metre is the same but the rhyme is different in the first couplet of such a poem. The succeeding couplets are of the very rhyme of the second hemistich of the first couplet. The poem is complete in itself. We reproduce an example of the same in the words of Khwājū:-

هر آنکجه که درین روضه آشیان سازم - مرا ز باغ غنچه بگوش جان آید
کز آن چه سود که ایوان قصر رفعت - بر اوج کنگره برج مشتری سایه
ازین سرا چه فای که مدار چشم وفا - جو روشنت که با همی بکس نه پایه
برال امید نهادیم وضع این بقعه - که تا کس نفی خوش درو بر آساید
و لے جو در رنگری این مقام عاریستی - نه منزلت که باے قرار آساید

Folk. 69 B دیوان خواجہ

(۱) سورہ اخلاص - بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ ۝ قُلْ هُوَ اللّٰهُ اَحَدٌ ۝ اللّٰهُ الْقَدَمُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ ۝ وَلَمْ يَلِنْ لَهُ لَعْنًا اَحَدٌ ۝

This chapter is held in particular veneration by Mohammedans, and declared by a tradition of their prophet, to be equal in value to a third part of the whole Korān. *The Koran, p. 459, Gollands.*

Translated by Sale.
Frederick Warne & Co, London.

۱۸۸۹

(۲) احسن القواعد ص ۱۹۹ مطبع مجتبائی دہلی مارچ

When in this garden I do build my nest,
I hear from the unknown regions a cry;
What is the use of that palace to you
That kisses the Jupiter's top so high;
This earthly place is ne'er sincere to you
'Tis clear, to none it is sincere, O fie!
We have the form of this place with the view
That some with comfort for awhile may lie;
If into this place borrowed you may look,
It is not fit for rest, none can deny.

The above fragment has been selected for a special reason. It serves a double purpose; first in that it gives an example of the kind of poem, and second that it is an exception to almost all the fragments which are, we are sorry to admit, centred in the theme of money. But this fragment conveys the mystic idea of the faithlessness of the world quite similar to the following fragment of Ibn-i-Yamin (died 745 A.H.) (1) popular for his "Mukatta'at" or fragments (2), most of which are philosophical, ethical or mystical character."

سائے حال جہاں راز یکے کرد سوال - آن شنیدی کہ ہم فرمود حکیمش بجواب
گفت دنیا و نعمتش چو بیاباں و سراب - یا خیالیت کہ صاحب نظرش دید بخواب
نواب را مردم بیدار دل ازین نهند - نشوند اہل خرد غرہ بتمویہ سراب

- (3) One asked the other of the wordly state,
You heard what in reply the wise did say?
"The world its gifts are a mirage and waste
Or like a thought a seer dreamt of alway;
Then men of wisdom do not care for dreams,
The are not proud of an illusion, aye."

To all intents and purposes, he showered encomiums upon his patrons for the sake of money throughout these fragments. There is a fragment in the form of a dialogue (Fol. 63A, of the Rotos, Accession no. 1768) between the planets, ending in praise of Maulānā Rukn-ud-Dīn in these words:-

(4) شہ افاضل و سلطان چار بابش فضل - مدار مرکز آفاق رکن بکرانی

In the same strain he mentions the planets with the sole intention of praising his patron 'Amīd-ul-Mulk Rukn-ud-Dīn. He in contrast with him, makes light of them most interestingly in the following couplets:-

(5) مہدی ثانی عمید الملک رکن داد و دین - اے کہ دوزخ ز آتش قہر شرارے بیش نیت
شیر چیخ جنبری کا فضاے عالم صید اوست - کتریں ملکبان خیل را شکارے بیش نیت
نہ فلک کز ہفت کشور بر سر آمد در علو - ز آستان قبہ قدرت عیارے بیش نیت
پاسبان ہفتمین طارم کہ کیوان نام اوست - بر جناب بارگاہت پردہ دارے بیش نیت
ترک خنجر کش کہ بر پنج فلک خنجر کشیدہ - روز کیں از شکر خنجر گزارے بیش نیت
شہسوارے قمر ز نگاری کہ شاہ انجم است - از سپاہت کتریں ابلق سوارے بیش نیت
ماہ تو باغل شہر نگ تو دار و نسکے - در نہ اندر گوش گردوں گو شوارے بیش نیت

A History of Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion, p. 216, vol. 769 A.H., but Dr. Rieu (1)
745 A.H., the date of his death, in the Catalogue of the MSS. in the British Museum, vol. 8, p. 825
A History of Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion by Prof. Grousset, p. 216. (2)
Ibn Yamin, E.H. Rodwell, p. 4. (3)

The power of diction and the flow of style makes a man spellbound here. Even a man of average literary taste is carried high on the wings of delight so as to lose self-control and nod his head in rapture with the harmonious rise and fall of its rhythm. While in the twinkling of an eye, all his poetical taste suffers a disastrous fall like a castle of cards as soon as he humiliates his muse by begging for money:-

(1) عالمی مستغفری دریاۂ انعامت و لیک - حاصل میں بندہ کوئی انتظار بیش نیست
Not to speak of the encomiums conferred upon his patrons, we are

wonderstruck to note that a patron sent a poem to him for correction and remarks. It was copper but he changed it into pure gold by writing an appreciation of the same, or rather he made that poem of everlasting fame, while the ravages of time might not have left a single trace of it as it stood. A few couplets of this appreciation run as follows:-

(2) از طریق تربیت ارسال کرد - سوئے من لطفی چوں لولو و خوشاب
آب حیاں قطرہ از آن سواد - لوح محفوظ آیتے از آن کتاب
نکتہ ہائش مشرب دل را زلال - لفظ ہائش چشمہ جانرا حباب

For the correction's sake he sent to me
A poem like to the pearls that shine bright;

Life's water is a drop from that ink black,
The Tablet's a verse from that book aright;
Its hints are water sweet for the heart's taste,
Its dots, the soul's spring-bubbles for the sight.

Is this not just the opposite of the treatment of a similar request made to Voltaire when Frederick "sent a large quantity of verses to Voltaire, and requested that they might be returned with remarks and corrections. 'See,' exclaimed Voltaire, 'What a quantity of his dirty linen the King has sent to me to wash!'" (3)

It is painful to admit that Khwājū had to act in this way under the pressure of circumstances best known to him. How praiseworthy would it have been had he followed the example of his master Nizāmī in leading a contented life. Nizāmī speaks thus:-

(4) نان جوین و خرقة پشمین دآب شور - سی پارہ کلام و حدیث پیغمبری
بابک دو ہشتین کہ نیرزد بہ نیم جو - در پیش چشم بہت شاں ملک بجزری
تاریک کلمہ کہ ہے روشنی آں - بیہودہ منست نہند شمع خاوری
گر از سپہر عقد ثریا فرستد تم - از روے مہر بر طبق ماہ مشتری
دروے بنجاک پائے قناعت کہ ننگم - تا ایں حدیث را تو بازار چیم شمری
تا بینج حرص بر نکی از زمین دل
از شاخ دین وے نتوانی کہ بر خوری

Fol. 62A دیوان خواجہ (2)

Fol. 64.B

(1) دیوان خواجہ

(4) Historical Essay, Macaulay, p. 675, Oxford, 1923. (3)

Published by the University of the Punjab, 1930.

The barley, bread and saltish water, and the woollen cloak
 The Holy Kurān's thirty parts, the Prophet's words so dear,
 With one or two good friends in whose magnanimous eyesight,
 The kingdom of Sanjar is less than half-a-barley here.
 The darksome cottage which is never for its light obliged
 In vain to the bright candle burning in the East so clear.
 If from the heavens Jupiter would send to me in love
 The Pleiades' bright string in the plate of the Moon: You hear!
 At it I will not look with the dust of contentment's feet,
 You should not think my words at all to be a plaything mere.
 Until from your mind's soil you take out avarice's deep root
 The pleasant fruit of faith you can't enjoy to eat with cheer.

It is not inopportune to point out that in an economic sense at any stage of the world's civilization mental activity should not make a man so passive as to look at the hands of others for ~~his~~ his maintenance even. He ought to realize his duty as a citizen and, by the grace of Allah, earn his livelihood with the sweat of his brow. In this capacity, there would be no harm to attempt poetry as a hobby during one's leisure hours. It is pitiable to admit that our poet was carried away by the currents of time while Jāmī supports our view of not being a professional poet in a piece of advice to his son thus:-

(۱) در فتنه گم گنج اندیشه اش - کوش که چون من نکنی پیشه اش
 هر نفس آید گهری از جبهه - قیمت آن بیشتر از چو و چند
 و آن گهر از دست مده رایگان - خاصه که در هیچ فرومایگان

If sometimes your thought towards verse may lie,
 Mind, make it not a profession as I lie.
 Each verse is like a pearl that shines so bright,
 Its price above all question is all right.
 Cast not that pearl from your hand uselessly,
 In praise of the low it must never be.

Satire.

It is an accepted fact that Firdausī, in his despair of reaping a rich harvest from the hands of Maḥmūd on the completion of the Shāhnāmah, laid the foundation of the school of satire. Suzanī (died 569 A.H./1173-74 A.D.) developed it in the reign of Sanjar and 'Ubaid-i-Zakānī (died 772/1371) a contemporary of Khwājū raised this school of poetry to its zenith. Due to the influence of the satirical atmosphere of 'Ubaid Zakānī's poetry Khwājū indulged in poignant satire. It will suffice to quote a few couplets of that satirical Magnavī in the following lines:-

(۲) بوزن آن مردک از خر بیشتر بود - بگردن بر شد آن کفه که خربود
 جوان مردگراں جان سبک سر - فزون آمد بریش و سبب از خر
 بمقراضش همه سبب بچیدند - محاسن موبجوش بر کشیدند

In weight that person than the ass was more,
 The pan that held the ass then high did soar;
 The foolish and oppress'd and young man then
 Topp'd the ass by moustaches, beard, again;
 His moustaches with scissors were cut all,
 His beard was plucked hair after hair, withal.

Fels. 75 A, 75 B (۲) دیوان خواجہ

(۱) تحفته الاحرار جانی صفحات ۱۶۷-۱۶۸

* May the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him.

Is it not an attitude of our poet that seems to be repulsive to all his admirers? It can never be expected of a great man like Khwājū that he should treat his rivals thus. Assuming that he paid them in the same coin as they gave him, it is very difficult to reconcile his spirit shown in the lyrics with that shown in these short poetical works. We find him there as an exponent of love - the mission of his life, but we see him here face to face as a man overruled by wrath like us. It would have been better for him to forgive and forget them. They wanted to degrade him in the eyes of his patrons, in order to be recipients of their donations themselves. They hit him hard, so that these invectives of theirs might bring forth his vituperative retorts directly and might poison the minds of his patrons indirectly with a view to making him appear in his own true nature when he lost his temper. Though he was vigilant and cautious enough to maintain his position among his patrons, he was hypersensitive. He poured out his wrath, and they won immortality. Had he ignored them they would have died of their own vice, as they could not blemish his fame. It was his popularity that made them jealous of him. Their poignant remarks were, indirectly, an appreciation of his poetry poured forth with a sharp tongue couched in a bitter style. Had he not been great they would not have noticed him at all.

At any rate, it is very hard to estimate the circumstances under which our poet was actuated to write so. Possibly, he inhaled the satirical atmosphere, being a contemporary of 'Ubaid-i-Zākānī, and tried to show his mastery as an artist in this school of poetry as well. His consciousness of this treatment of his rivals in the long run won a penitent heart from him; as he says:⁽¹⁾

من بعد از این دیار به کشتی گذار کنند - مارا اگر آب دیده بماند برین نسق

They after this will cross the city in the boat,
If I am shedding the tears of repentance so.

We admire him in the words of Shakespeare:-

By penitence the Eternal wrath appeased. (2)

STYLE.

Finally, it is a source of great pleasure to assert that we are highly indebted to these short poems. These are ~~the~~ blessings in disguise in point of style. He rejects here all imitation and mannerisms and appears in his own colours as a stylist. He is easy, simple

William Shakespeare by John Massfield (2)
P. 41.

(1) دیوان خواجہ Fol. 134 B

and direct. He flows like a stream and carries the reader along with him in his eloquence. He is brief, exact, and singularly striking. His originality of mind and spontaneity of nature are better indicated here, in the following poem:

غیاثِ دولت و دین کیفِ عالم - زہے دستِ بَدِ پاشی سحابے
 جہانِ مکرمت را قہر مانے - سپہرِ عدلت را آفتابے
 ملک را گردِ ایوانت طوافے - ملک را سوئے فرمانت شتابے
 جہانرا از وجودت افتخارے - ستم را از جنابت اجتنابے
 بود عنقاؤ زریں بالِ گردون - درویشِ جوفِ خرگاہت ذبابے
 روا باشد کہ همچو من غریبے - ز درگاہتِ نیاید فتح یا بے ؟
 نجستہ جز جنابتِ تکیہ گاہے - نکردہ جز ثنابتِ التباہے
 ز دریاؤ کفّتِ نادیدہ رشحے - ز فیضِ نعمتِ ناخوردہ آہے

The Mukatta'at of the Dīvān-i-Khwājū A.No.1768 are as follows:-

Letter	Kita'	No. of Couplets.
ایں دہائی	4	62
	14	109
	14	97
	6	60
	1	51
	1	2
	3	29
	1	4
	4	19
	5	35
	11	146
		<u>614</u>

Magnavi.....47 couplets.

INTRODUCTION. Mysticism permeates a great portion of Persian

Literature. It is due to the fact of its potent interest that it has appealed to the genius of the Persian poets. They made it all the more charming and alluring by introducing to their treatment of it beautiful similes and metaphors.

Our chief purpose in this chapter is the examination of the works of Khwājū in the light of mysticism. In order to make an accurate estimate of its development, and to avoid entering abruptly into the discussion, let us proceed age after age till we reach the period of our poet. Thus we shall have before us a mirror of all the mystical activities from early times to the Ilkhānī Period. This feature of our attempt will make a clear impression of Khwājū's works upon our minds, and help us to make a final valuation.

Sāmānī Period. Rudagī attempted all kinds of Poetry. As to mysticism, he set the ball rolling by setting forth his pessimistic views of life in such a way as to attract the attention of posterity to the usefulness of developing this branch of thought in the future. He says thus:

میرا نے پہنچ مہاں را - دل نہا دن بمسکی نہ رواست
زیر خاک اندر دنت باید خفت - گرچہ اکنون خواب بردیاست
باکساں بودنت چہ سود کند - کہ بلور اندرون شدن تنہاست

In this world transitory for a guest,
It is not fit to stick so greedily;
You have to sleep below this earth, behold!
Although your bed for sleep the silk may be;
'Tis of no use to live among men here,
While you in grave alone must go, you see! (1)

Chaznavī Period. Firdausī, the greatest Epic poet of Persia, played upon the same harp in the same manner:-

چہ باید ہے زندگانی دراز - کہ گیتی نخواہد کشادنت راز
ہے ہرور اندت باشہد دلوش - جز آوازِ نرمت نیاید بگوش
یکایک چہ گوئی کہ گستر دہر - نخواہد نمودن بہ بد نیز چہر
ہمہ شاد باشی و شادانی بدو - ہمہ راز دل بر کشادی بدو
یکے نغز بازی ہر دوز آورد - بدلت اندر از درد خون آورد
چنین ست گہبان ناپائیدار - تو دروے بجز تخی نیکی مکار
دل میر شد زین سرانے سنج - خرایا مرا زود مہراں ز رنج

Thy life although it long may be,
The world its secret won't tell thee.
It brings all up with honey sweet,
Its mellow voice thy ears doth greet;

Thou sayest it showed kindness so,
 Its ugly face it will not show;
 Thou glad with it and happy art,
 Told it the secret of thy heart;
 It doth produce a novel play,
 It maketh thee of pain a prey;
 The changing world doth e'er thus grow,
 But virtue's seed should'st naught here sow;
 I tire of life for it is brief,
 Allah relieve me soon of grief.

Seljukian Period. Although traces of mysticism are to be met with in the above two periods, yet the fountain of Sūfī-ism bubbled up in full force not till the Seljukian Period, and it broadened into a stream which overflowed the length and breadth of Persia in the personalities of ⁽¹⁾ "first, the famous Astronomer; Poet of Nishāpūr, 'Umar Khayyām; secondly, the dialect-poet - the Persian Burns, as he may be termed - Bābā Ṭāhir of Hamadān; thirdly, the celebrated Sūfī, or mystic, Abū Saīd b. Abīl Khayr; and lastly, the pious Shaykh al-Anṣārī, or Pīr-i-Anṣār." In the words of Dr Ethe, Pīr-i-Anṣār "prepared the way for the great Sanā'ī." (2)

Mongol Period. In this period, though at the cost of poetry, the records of history have been stained with blood, yet Farīd-ud-Dīn Attār employed verse as the vehicle of his thought, and won everlasting fame as an exponent of mystic poetry, and author of the Mantik-ut-Ṭā'ir. His mantle fell upon Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī whose brow is of all most worthy of bearing the laurel of Mystic Poetry in Persia, for he produced the Maṣnavī-i-Mānavī.

Ilkhānī Period. The terrors of the Tartārs and the horrors of the Ilkhānī Dynasty proved to be destructive to the taste of poetry. In all that welter of blood which stains the records of history, there yet appear to have been exponents of mysticism in the personalities of Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Irākī (b. 688/1289), the author of the Lama'at, and Maḥmūd of Shabistar (b. ? - d. 720/1320), the writer of the Gulshan-i-Rāz. The people hailed these productions all round, as they appealed to their sense of quietness and pessimism inspired before the flashing swords and burning fires of the victors.

Step by step, we have reached the age of our poet. Placing his works before us, we have to trace whether or not he followed Sūfī-ism - the pivot of Persian Poetry and the axis of Persian Literature. If we come to the conclusion that he trod upon this path, then can we call him a sūfī?

A Literary History of Persia from Zoroastrianism to Sādi, page 246.

A Literary History of Persia from Zoroastrianism to Sādi, page 246.

(1)

(2)

Firstly, then, let us consider the authors of the *Haft Iklim* (1), the *Majālis-ul-Mumanīn* (2), the *Mirat-ul-Khiyāl* (3), the *Khizanah-i-'Amirah* (4), and the *Aṣār-i-Ajam* (5), who call him a *ṣūfī* on the authority of the *Taẓkīra-tul-Shu'arā* which has already been quoted on page 14. The author of the *Mai-Khānah* says, ⁽⁶⁾ "Afzal-ud-Dīn left the aged Shaykh and put up at Kirmān. He built an oratory there. He devoted himself to the worship of God along with the other dervishes for the remaining portion of his life in that oratory."

We cannot help but hesitate to accept their statements as established truth, for they have not supported them by any internal evidence of the works of Khwājū himself.

We are indebted to Maulānā Shiblī Sāhib who cuts new ground and says, ⁽⁷⁾"But Salmān and Khwājū are both deprived of mysticism, hence there is no smell in these flowers." We feel sorry to say that this statement gets us no further for it is unsupported by any internal evidence from the works of Khwājū.

Let us therefore go to the works of Khwājū and see what we can find there in the way of replies to the two questions:

- (1) Did Khwājū tread upon the path of šūfī-ism?
- (2) If so, can we call him a šūfī with mysticism in his writings?

We have already pointed out in Chapter III, in the words of Khwājū, that he was a disciple of 'Alā-ud-Daulah of Samnān, Shaikh Abū Ishāk bin Ibrāhīm of Kāzrūn and Shaikh Amīn-ud-Dīn of Kāzrūn, and this view of ours that a šūfī, has to be at first the disciple of a religious leader, is supported by the article on Šūfī-ism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edition 14, Vol.21, page 523, which says as follows:

"By the end of the 3rd century ṣūfī mysticism was fast becoming an organized system, with rules of discipline and devotion which the novice was bound to learn from his spiritual director, to whose guidance he submitted himself absolutely, as to one regarded as being in intimate

(۱) پس از آن دست ارادت **شیخ رکن الدین علاء الدین** داده مرید گشت ص ۷۸
(۲) در آشنای سیاحت بصحبت **شیخ رکن الدین علاء الدین** مسکنی قدس سره رسید و مرید او گردید - و ساکنان در صوفی آباد به تصنیف باطن انتقال نمود
(۳) در آشنای سیاحت بصحبت **شیخ الحارث المحقق رکن الملت و الدین علاء الدین** مسکنی رحمته الله علیه رسید و مرید شده چند سال در زمزمه و باب طلب گزرا
(۴) دوست بصحبت **شیخ علاء الدین** مسکنی داد و در وقت در صوفی آباد **شیخ پادشاه امن** اعتکاف کشید ص ۱۱۵ خزانه عامه
(۵) بنجد متوجه از مشایخ رسید دست از آن عمل کشیده بای در دامن عزت پیچیده بگوشه آرمیده گویند از مریدان خاص **رکن الدین علاء الدین**
است همانا دیوان ص ۳ شرح حال خواجو
(۶) افضل الدین از ملازمت پیر غارت نموده بکرمان آمد و در آنجا خانقاه ساخت بقیه عمر در آن خانقاه با دویشان دیگر بنحی ای پرستی مشغول گردید
(۷) لیکن سلطان از در خواجو در آنوقت ص ۱۱۵ محمدی که در آن وقت نه تنها شعر العجم بلکه ۵ ص ۱۳۸

communion with God."

Now we proceed in the order of the definition, the origin, the principles, the allegorical description and the metaphorical language of Sūfī-ism, so that we may make our statement perfectly clear.

Definition. Let us take the definition of Sūfī-ism first, and reproduce the words of Khwājū himself:

① چند زنی لاف تصوف بصوف - وقف چه گیری که نداری وقوف
 رنگ تصوف نه بصوفست و بس - صوفی ازین رنگ ندیدست کس
 صاف برای این همه صوف از نجاست - کارنگردد بصوف و صوف راست
 چه فنون این همه افشوس چیست - صدق بیا را این همه سالوس چیست

How long boast you of 'tasavvuf' with 'sūf'?
 Can you perceive? Your knowledge lacketh proof.
 Doth 'tasavvuf's' trait come of 'sūf' alone,
 None hath seen in this way a 'sūfī' grown;
 Be pure, what do you mean by this 'sūf' aye,
 With 'sūf' and 'sāf' your work can never pay.....
 How long this charm? And what doth this joke mean?
 Bring truth (sidk) what all this deception hath been?

Criticising the derivation of sūfī-ism in the light of 'sūf' (woollen garment), 'sāf' (rank) and 'sāfā' (purity), he gives his final decision in the last couplet to the effect that Sūfī-ism consists of 'sidk' (truth). By way of definition, this is exactly the same as that given in the Kashf-al-Mahjūb, pages 30,31. "The true meaning of this name has been much discussed and many books have been composed on the subject. Some assert that the Sūfī is so called because he wears a wollen garment (jāmā-i-sūf); others that he is so called because he is in the first rank (ṣaff-i-awwal); others say it is because the Sūfīs claim to belong to the Aṣḥāb-i-Ṣuffa, with whom ^{may} God be ^{well-}pleased! Others, again, declare that the name is derived from ṣafā (purity)..... Verily, purity is characteristic of the Siddiq, if thou desirest a true sūfī - because purity (ṣafā) has a root and a branch: its root being severance of the heart from "others" (aghyār), and its branch that the heart should be empty of this deceitful world." Does not this quotation coincide with the above couplets? Are they not a proof of his mystic mind?

Theories. Let us take the theories now. Professor Browne says, ⁽²⁾ "The views which have been advanced as to the nature, origin, and source of the sūfī doctrine are as divergent as the etymologies by which it is proposed to explain its name. Briefly they may be described as follows:-

1. The theory that it really represents the Esoteric Doctrine of the Prophet. This claim that the Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be

(۱) روضۃ الانوار طبرانی ص ۱۲-۱۳

A History of Persian Literature, by Prof. Browne
 V. I, p. 418. (2)

upon him) was a mystic is established in such popular traditions "as God's alleged declaration, 'I was a Hidden Treasure and I desired to be known, therefore I created Creation that I might be known;' or, 'God was, and there was naught beside;' or, 'whosoever knoweth himself knoweth his Lord.'" (1) Keeping in view the above theory, we reproduce a couplet of Khwājū's with reference to the italicised lines of the above quotation, which represent the gist of the Esoteric Doctrine of the Prophet (the choicest blessings of Allah be upon him). The couplet runs as follows:-

- (1) *اہل معنی از چہ دروے انکار صورت کرده اند - زانکہ صورت را ہمہ گنج معانی یافتیم*
 Why do the masters of reality deny the form?
 A treasure of reality we found the form to be.

In other words, the form is Creation, and according to our poet, the hidden treasure - the Creator - is known from the form. It is verily the same as "I was a Hidden Treasure and I desired to be known, therefore I created Creation that I might be known."

again our poet says:-

- (2) *بہ ہستی او بہت شد ہر چہ بہت - فلک سرکش آمد زمین زیر دست*
 What doth exist in life, through Him did grow,
 The sky rose high and the earth fell down low.

Khwājū means to say that the universe was brought into life by Allah, that is there was Allah at first and nothing else; hence He created them. This is word for word the same as "God was, and there was naught beside."

Further Khwājū remarks:-

- (3) *تا متکلفان حرم کعبہ وحدت - خود را نشناسند خدا را نشناسند*
 As long as the inmates of the walls of God-head's Ka'ba
 Themselves do know not, so long they can never know their Lord.

These words of our poet are nothing short of the remark "Whosoever knoweth himself knoweth His Lord."

"2. The theory that it must be regarded as the reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion imposed upon it by force." (4) Let us see the works of Khwājū in the light of Aryan Philosophy, if he can satisfy us here in respect of this theory. Our poet says quite distinctly in one place:

- (5) *گر روئے سوئے کعبہ کنم یا بہ خرابات - از ہر دو طرف میل دلم سوئے تو باشد*
 If I turn my face to the ale-house or to the Ka'ba,
 The impulse of my mind is bent to Thee on both sides.

Our poet makes no difference between the ale-house and the Ka'ba, for, in his view Allah can be met with everywhere. This is parallel to that which is given in the Bhagavad Gita iv.ii, thus, "However men approach Me even so do I accept them, for the path men take from every side is Mine, O Pârtha."

(1) دیوان خواجہ Fel. 1372 (2) ہمدانیوں ص 4 (3) دیوان خواجہ Fel. 95A

(4) A History of Persian Literature by Prof. Browne, vol. I, p. 418. (5) دیوان خواجہ Fel. 171A

(6) A History of Persian Literature by Prof. Browne, vol. I, p. 418. (7) Advanced Text Book of Hindu Religion & Ethics, Bombay, 1905, page 371. (8) Fel. 9911

Again our poet says:-

ہمہ پرتو تو شمع ہیہ عنقر و تو روحی - ہمہ قطرہ و تو بحر ہیہ گوہر و تو لکاتی

- (1) All are reflection, Thou the Wick; all element, Thou art the Soul;
All are the drops, Thou art the Sea; all the gems, Thou art the Mine.

The spirit of Khwājū's couplet is that the universe is His reflection.

This is the same idea as is contained in the Bhagvad-Gita, xiii.33:

"As one sun illuminates this world, so the Lord of the Field illuminates the whole Field, O Bhārata." (2)

Further, our poet says on another occasion:-

- (3) منزمت چو مقام معلوم است - دامن یار گیر و ترک دیار
When known to you your destination is at every time,
Catch hold of the Friend's skirt so fast and leave the town outright.

The gist of Khwājū's couplet is purification at the cost of the world in order to attain Divine union. This is a similar idea to one contained in the Bhagvad-Gita v.25, which says: "The Rishis, their sins destroyed, their doubts removed, their selves controlled, intent upon the welfare of all beings, obtain the Brahma Nirvāna." (4)

3. "The theory of Neo-Platonist influence." (5) With reference to this theory, we see that our poet says:-

- (6) خیز و چو دخواجہ ز جہاں درگذر - روح بیفراے و ز جان درگذر
Rise up and like Khwājū leave the world all,
But purify the soul; let your life fail.

In this couplet, Khwājū means to cast off his life and the world for the purification of his soul. It is parallel to what is written in the Phaedo of Plato: "And what is purification but the separation of the soul from the body the release of the soul from the chains of the body?" (7)

Again Khwājū says:-

- (8) سخن از ملک بے زبانی گوے - خانه در کوئے بے مکانی جوے
About the land of speechlessness do say;
In tracelessness your place of rest seek, aye.

In this couplet, Khwājū refers to the place which is above any space and to the region which is far from worldly ties - the approach to the Divine Power. We have the same idea contained in the Phaedo, "And thought is best when the mind is gathered into herself and none of these things trouble her - neither sounds nor sights nor pain nor any pleasure - when she takes leave of the body, and has as little as possible to do with it, when she has no bodily sense or desire, but is aspiring after true being." (9)

Still again, our poet says on another occasion:

- (10) جائے تو جانیست کہ آن جائے نیست - رائے تو رائیست کہ آن رائے نیست
Your place is that which we cannot place call,
Your wit is that which is not wit at all.

Advanced Text Book of Hindu Religion & Ethics, Benares, 1906, p. 266. (2)

Fol. 211 B دیوان خواجہ (1)

Advanced Text Book of Hindu Religion & Ethics, Benares, 1906, p. 266. (3)

Fol. 4 A دیوان خواجہ (3)

Phaedo, page 266. (7)

A History of Persian Literature, by Prof. B. N. K. (5)

Phaedo, page 264. (9)

Fol. 60 A کمال نامہ (8)

In this couplet, Khwājū impresses upon the minds of his readers that the world is not their place and this reason cannot enable them to reach their goal after this life. The Phaedo expresses the same idea, "And thus having got rid of the foolishness of the body, we shall be pure and hold converse with the pure, and know of ourselves the clear light everywhere, which is no other than the light of truth'. For the impure are not permitted to approach the pure." (1)

4. "The theory of independent originThere remains the possibility that the ṣūfī mysticism may be an entirely independent and spontaneous growth ...; and I would venture to assert that many of the utterances of Eckart, Tauler, or Santa Teresa would, if translated into Persian, easily pass current as the words of ṣūfī Shykhs." (2)

In order to illustrate this theory of independent origin in the light of Khwājū's works, we read from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edition 14, Vol.7, Page 907, in the article on Eckart thus:-

"The two most important doctrines in his, as in all mystical systems, are those of the Divine nature and of the relation between God and His creatures, especially the human soul."

With these two principles of Eckart before us, we reproduce a couplet of Khwājū's, as follows:-

(3) *قادرى و جمله بتقدير تو است - نقش دو عالم بتصاوير تو است*
Thou art All Great; all is by Thy decree;
The two world's form doth show the forms through Thee.

In the first hemistich, Khwājū means to say that all are from Him - "hama az ost" - and this is nothing else than the doctrine 'of Divine Nature'. In the second hemistich, how eloquently and logically does he illustrate the relation between Allah and creature! He explains the theory of creation through the illustration of the painter and the picture. The painter cannot apply himself to work at a picture as long as there is not the will to do so. This will, in other words, is the relation that links the painter to the picture, let alone the external relation of manual labour for making that picture. Similarly, Allah loved to create His creatures, and he created them virtually at the impulse of that feeling of love. This impetus or will is the relation between Allah and creatures like that of a painter and his picture.

Further, man is the crown of creation, indeed, but he is nothing without soul. Soul comes from and returns to Allah, while dust is re-

uced to dust; hence there is the relation between "God and creature, especially the human soul."

stations. In the article on Sūfī-ism in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edition 14, Vol. 21, page 522, we read as follows:-

"The traveller journeying towards God passes through a series of ascending "stations"; in the oldest extant treatise these are : (1) repentance, (2) abstinence, (3) renunciation, (4) poverty, (5) patience, (6) trust in God, (7) acquiescence in the will of God."

Keeping the above quotation in view, let us unearth from the works of Khwājū any trace of these "stations" from them. We reproduce the following couplets in the order of stations, as quoted above:-

Khwājū says in the Rauza-tul-Anvār as follows:

- (1) *دفعتر خواجو ز گنه پاک نیست - و در نظر عفو بود پاک نیست*
Khwājū's record from sin is never free,
There is no fear, if pardon for him be.

In other words, he is expressing repentance (1 above), and is asking for forgiveness.

Again, our poet enjoins upon himself the practice of (2) abstinence in these words:-

- (2) *دست و دل از زمزم و کوثر بشوی - و آب ز سر چشمه تقوی بجو*
Think no more of 'Zamzam', and Kauṣar', hence
Seek water from the fount of abstinence.

Further, our poet is ready to undergo trial as is shown in the following words with regard to (3) renunciation, not only of worldly ties but himself even:

- (3) *تا به نیکی رسی ز پد بگذر - و ر خدا با بدیت ز خود بگذر*
To reach good you must give up evil here,
If good you want; renounce yourself, my dear.

Moreover, our poet claims the right to be accounted poor. His poverty (fakr) is announced in the following words explicitly:

- (4) *چو عند لیب گلستان فقر شد خواجو - از و شامه باغ کرم در بغ مدار*
When Khwājū grew the philomel of poverty's meadow,
Do not deprive him of the scent of the valley of grace.

Still again, our poet rigidly commands himself to observe (5) patience with a pun on the word Kirmān (his own city Kirmān, and Kirmān which means worms, the plural of kirm) in the following lines:

- (5) *صبر ایوب طلب کن که ز کرم خطر است - کشته نی بجای بدست آرم که طوفان بلاست*
Get patience of Ayyub, there is the fear of worms;
Take Noah's boat there is the havoc's flood.

Furthermore, our poet asserts his (6) trust in God very strongly in the following couplet:-

- (6) *فضل کن و ترک فضل بده - بر در دین روئے تو کل بین*

158

Be good and leave the thought of greatness all,
And let the face of trust on faith's door fall.

Finally, our poet says on another occasion:-

- (1) حوادث قضا محنت است و غم خواجو - اگر بحکم قضایت رضا بود غم نیست
O Khwājū! When fate doth demand adversity and grief,
It matters not, if you acquiesce in the will of the Lord.

The parallel instances of the couplet of our poet's to prove the various "stations" of Sūfī-ism shed a flood of light upon the mystic spirit of Khwājū.

Principles. Now let us proceed to see whether or not the works of Khwājū explain the principles of Sūfī-ism. As to these principles, we read in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edition 14, Vol 21, page 523, as follows:-

"He (Ghazālī) made Islamic theology mystical, and since his time the revelation (kashf) of the mystic has taken its place beside tradition (naql) and reason (aql) as a source and fundamental principle of the faith; Its leading principles may be stated briefly as follows:-

God is the sole reality (al-Haqq) and is above all names and definitions. He is not only absolute Being, but also absolute Good, and therefore absolute Beauty. It is the nature of beauty to desire manifestation; the phenomenal universe is the result of this desire, according to the famous Tradition in which God says, "I was a hidden treasure, and I desired to be known, so I created the creatures in order that I might be known." As things can be known only through their opposites, Being can only be known through Not-being, wherein as in a mirror Being is reflected; and this reflection is the phenomenal universe, which accordingly has no more reality than a shadow cast by the Sun."

With these principles of Sūfī-ism before us, let us try to find out parallel instances of the same from Khwājū's works. In the Kamāl-nāmah our poet says:-

- (2) من چو آواز پیر شنیدم - صورتش را به چشم جان دیدم
در توحید کرد بر من باز - ساز تکمیل کرد با من ساز
چشمه کشف در دلم بکشاد - و افسر قرب بر سرم بنهاد
بر بر اقی بقا نشانده مرا - بصف کبریا رسانده مرا
دلم از نور قدس روشن کرد - جانم از باغ انس گلشن کرد
فلکم زان حدیقه باز آورد - و ز حقیقت سوئے مجاز آورد

When the sound of the old man I did hear,
I saw his form before my soul's eyes near.....
He oped for me the door of Unity,
And made perfection's means so fit for me;.....
The revelation's fount in my mind cast,
The crown of nearness placed on my head fast;
Made me ride the horse of Eternity,
And to the rank of Allah did lead me;
And lit me with the light of piety,
With the love's mead my soul a vale made he;.....
Back from that garden the sky brought me then,
From real to artificial again.

In the above couplets, does he not explain 'kashf' by saying "The

159
revelation's fount in my mind cast"? Does he not explain "al-haqq" by writing "From Real to artificial"? Does he not depict "Goodness" and "Beauty" by using a single word "garden"? Indeed, he is marvellously eloquent and precise in illustrating all these principles in a nut-shell.

Still again our poet says:-

(1)
صبح خیزان بخیلی مہر کشند - سرمہ در دیدہ ادلوا البصار
خیز و بنگر کہ بلبلاں سحر - سے سر ایندہ پردہ اسرار
نوع و سبب حجبہ خانہ قدس - مے گشت ایندہ برقع از رضا
یار دیدار مے نمایہ بیک - دیدہ نیست در خور دیدار

The early risers do apply with the bodkin of love,
The antimony to the eyes of the masters of sight;
Rise up and hear the philomels at the time of the morn
In chorus sweet that ever sing the secrets' tune aright;
The damsels of the closet of the sanctity Divine
At such a pleasant moment here unveil their faces bright;
Our Friend is kind now to appear before the naked eyes,
And for that sight, our human eyes are never fit but slight.

At a cursory glance at these lines of Khwājū's, we understand that "it is the nature of Beauty to desire manifestation" in the words of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Again, our poets says:-

(2)
چو گلہ ستہ باغ شایہ توئی - خودار گنج الہی توئی
دریں رہ طلسم توشد جان و جسم - چو گنجت مرادست بشکل طلسم

When you're a bunch of flowers of the king's mead,
You unveil the Lord's treasure then indeed;
Your own charm is the body and soul here,
Break up that charm to get the treasure so dear.

The gist of the couplet tallies with the words of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, "the phenomenal universe is the result of this desire, according to the famous Tradition in which God says, "I was a hidden Treasure and I desired to be known, so I created the creatures in order that I might be known." "

Again, in the story of a parrot of India that happened to fly to Persia mentioned in the Rauza-tul-Anvār, our poet says:-

(3)
طوطی خوش خواں چو نظر باز کرد - گوش بہاں مرغ سخن ساز کرد
خوش سخن یافت ترغیم سرا - و آمدہ در آئینہ صورت نما
دید درون نقش دلارائے خوش - شد دلش آشفتنہ سیماے خوش
کرد تصور کہ زہند و ستان - آمدش از پے یکے از دوستان
تا دید از ہمنفسانش پیام - یا مگرش بار رہا نہ ز دام
ہرچہ بگوش آمدش از سوز ساز - داد جوابش بہاں لہجہ باز
صورت خود را دگر مے مٹرد - مے شد و راہ دگر مے مہر
خود نظر افکندہ و خود در نظر - سماع و قائل خود و خود بے خبر
طوطی جان مرغ سخن گوئے تست - و آئینہ روئے تو ہم روئے تست

گر سہمہ جہند توئی جانِ آن - در سہمہ جانند توئی جانِ ہاں
خیز و زبان قصہ بانان پیرس - رز دل خوابو سخن جان پیرس

روضۃ الانوار ص ۲۱ اور ۲۲ طبر

When therein did the sweet-tongued parrot see
And heard the singing warbler's melody;
It found the bird that sang therein so sweet
And in the shining mirror it did greet;
It saw therein its pretty form so bright,
Its heart was lured at its own forehead's sight;
From India, this thought lurked in its mind,
One of its friends had come there from behind;
So that the message of its friends might tell,
Or make it e'er free from the cage's cell;
What it heard from the burnings of its heart,
In that speech did it the reply impart;
It thought its form to be another one,
It happened to tread the other's path anon;
It cast its sight, it itself was in sight,
It heard what it spake, knew it not outright.....
Thy song-bird's the parrot of the soul dear,
The mirror of thy face is thy face here;
If all the body be, thee soul I trow;
If all are soul, the soul of souls art thou;
From soul thou shouldest ask the sweet's tale aye,
Ask the soul's word from Khwājū's mind away.

On the perusal of the tale of the parrot and its reflection, we are bound to acknowledge in respect of the above couplets that Khwājū illustrates, in the words of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, that "Being can only be known through Not-being, wherein, as in a mirror, Being is reflected; and this reflection is the phenomenal universe, which accordingly has no more reality than a shadow by the Sun."

Allegorical Illustration and Metaphorical Language. Now, let us look at the works of Khwājū in the light of the allegorical illustration and metaphorical language of the mystic writers. In the above story of the parrot of India, we have reproduced some couplets which shed a flood of light upon his allegorical illustrations. It is in no way less descriptive and impressive than the allegory of Farīd-ud-Dīn Aṭṭār, a great mystic poet of Persia, in the story of the Mantik-ut-Tāir, where sī-murgh (thirty birds) with small 's' go to see the Sī-murgh (Phoenix) with capital 'S', undergoing many tortures and ordeals. The couplets dealing with this reference runs as follows:

چوں نگہ کردند آن سیمرغ زود - بیشک این سیمرغ آن سیمرغ بود
در تخریب سرگردان شدند - باز از نوع دیگر حیران شدند
خویش را دیدند سیمرغ تمام - بود چوں سیمرغ سیمرغ مدام
آن ہمہ غرق تخریب مانده اند - بے تفکر و تفکر مانده اند
چوں نہ استند هیچ از هیچ حال - بیزبان کردند از آنحضرت سوال
کشف این سرلوی در خواستند - حال مائی و منی در خواستند
بے زبان آمد از آنحضرت خطاب - کہ بود این ذرہ چوں آن آفتاب
ہر کہ آید خویش را بیند درو - جان و تن ہم پیش را بیند درو
چوں شما سیمرغ این جا آمدید - کی درین آمیختہ پیدا آمدید

گر چہ بیجاہ مرغ آئینہ باز - پرده را از خویش بکشایند باز منطق الطیر ص ۲۳ و ۲۳۵
 گر چہ بسیار بگر دیدہ آید - خویشے بیند و خود را دیدہ آید منطق الطیر ص ۱۹۲

When all those sī-murg very soon did see,
 Those sī-murg were that Sī-murg, verily;
 They all were wonderstruck at that sight then,
 They in a way were all amazed again;
 They themselves saw Sī-murg there all in all,
 Like the sī-murg was that Sī-murg, withal;.....
 Now in the sea of wonder sank down they,
 Tho' free in mind, yet anxious all were aye;
 When none of them that mystery could know,
 With speechlessness they asked its Lordship so,
 "Pray, now disclose to us that mystery,
 And tell the secret all of 'I' and 'we'."
 With speechlessness its Lordship said to all,
 "None can an atom like to the Sun call;
 If any one come, he sees himself here,
 He sees 'fore him his body and soul dear.
 When you sī-murg have come down to this place,
 You 'thirty' have shone in this mirror's space;
 If fifty birds or forty come up here,
 They themselves unveil in the mirror clear;
 Although you wondered great and little all,
 You yourself see and see yourself withal.

In the above couplets of Khwājū and Farīd-ud-Dīn Attār, we find excellent allegories of the parrot and the sī-murg (thirty birds) quite parallel to one another. At the same time, our poet is no less striking in writing in metaphorical language, when he says in the above allegory of the parrot of India:

(۱) ناطقہ گو مرغ ترنم سراسر است - طوطی آن گلشن طوطی نخواست
 ہرچہ دریں پردہ کند ساز آن - باز بگوش آیدش آواز آن
 خویش کند زمزمہ راز خویش - خویش نہد گوش باواز خویش
 طوطی جان نطق دلفروز است - لیک سخن در سخن آموز است
 آئینہ راے تو آمد سپہر - عکس رخ تو است رخ ماہ و مہر

روضۃ الانوار صفحہ ۲۲ و ۲۳

Say logus is the bird that sings its tale,
 Its parrot's the parrot-revealing vale;
 Whate'er the song is sung in its voice sweet,
 Its echo clear again the ears doth greet;
 It singeth ever its own secret all,
 And turneth its ears to its voice withal;
 The bird of the soul is its logos bright,
 But here the teacher is meant e'er aright;
 Your sense's mirror is the heaven's space,
 Your face's shade, the Sun and the Moon's face.

Reply to the two questions. So far we have discussed the definition, the origin, the principles, and the allegorical illustrations and metaphorical language of Sūfī-ism as exhibited in the works of Khwājū. It automatically follows then, that in response to the first question noted above on page 152, we are quite right to assert that Khwājū trod on the path of Sūfī-ism. In reply to the second question following the first, whether we can call him a sūfī with mysticism in his works, we reproduce our own poet again,

while he claims to be a *ṣūfī* himself:

بادم دے ز خاکِ طریقت مرگیم - فاکم دے بابِ حقیقت مخرم

(1)

I'm air but mixt with the 'Tariqat's' dust alway,
I'm dust but kneaded with Hakikat's water aye.

Let us scrutinize the cult of Khwājū in the light of the above couplet, dealing with 'Tariqat' and 'Hakikat'. As to the former, we read from the *Kashf-al-Mahjūb*, page 54, line 14, "The *Ṣūfī* Shaykhs observe the following rule. When a novice joins them, with the purpose of renouncing the world, they subject him to spiritual discipline for the space of three years. If he fulfil the requirements of this discipline, well and good; otherwise, they declare that he cannot be admitted to the Path (Tariqat). The first year is devoted to service of the people, the second year to service of God, and the third year to watching^{over} his own heart." As to the latter, we read in the *Kashf-al-Mahjūb*, page 384, line 17, "Haqiqat. By this word they mean a man's dwelling in the place of Union with God, and the standing of his heart in the place of abstraction (tanzih)." Now, by placing the enunciation of Khwājū side by side with the definitions of Tariqat and Hakikat, we realize that Khwājū could call himself such only at a time when he did "fulfil the requirements of this discipline", and he had "the standing of his heart in the place of abstraction (tanzih)" otherwise, he would not have declared it so publicly and strongly.

Again, on another occasion in the *Kamāl-nāmah* in a chapter on the Mystics, denouncing the pretenders, he says thus:-

کردہ تحصیل و بیج حاصل نہ - جستہ تفضیل و بیج فاضل نہ
خرفہ شان ترز چشم گوہر بار - نیک در زیر خرقہ شان زناں

(2)

They have acquired; no use thereof have they,
For grace they sought, none graceful, so to say.....
Their "Khirkah"s wet for all the tears they shed,
But neath the "Khirkah" there is the Brahman's thread.

and in the same chapter, he claims to be a true mystic in these words:

(3)

چشم را روشن من مردم کن - و آشنا باش و خویش را گم کن

Make up your eyes acquainted with all men,
And be the Friend, renounce your ownself then.

Still again, in order to illustrate the chapter on the Mystics with a tale, our poet gives a story of a hypocritical mystic whose superficial sanctity was revealed to the public eye in the due course of time. Comparing himself with that pretender, he says about himself:

(4)

چشم خواجو اگر چه ہر گہرست - گوہر او ز طبلہ دگرست
بگل خواجو اگر ازین خاک است - دیش از نقش آب و گل پاک است
Khwājū's eyes shed the pearl-like tears alway,
His pearls are from another casket aye.....
Though Khwājū's dust from this world hap to be,

His mind is from this water and dust free.

y shedding the tears of repentance (a station of the mystics), is not Khwājū saying to himself in the above couplets that he is not a hypocritical mystic like the man depicted in the story, but a true mystic in the real sense?

Objection from the point of view of Romance. Now an adverse criticism may be offered here to the effect that he has been recognized till this age as a romantic poet in Persian Literature; then we may reply by reproducing some couplets which virtually show his mystic flashes even in the romantic works. Out of many passages occurring several times in the Humā-ū-Humāyūn, the most popular romantic work of Khwājū's, we reproduce the following only for the sake of brevity:-

نیایی درین خاکدان هم نفس - که این خاک یک توده خاکست و بس
چو نیستی بهمان به که دم در کشی - ازین قیر برتر علم بر کشی

- (1)
You never can a friend on this earth find,
This earth's a heap of dust; that's all, you mind;
'Tis good like Christ that you should quiet be,
Lift up your flag above this temple free.

Here we find quietism and "Quietism soon passed into mysticism" according to the words of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edition 14, Vol. 21, page 522, article on Sūfī-ism. Is not mysticism, then, to be found in his romantic work?

Furthermore, he says thus in the Gul-ū-Nauruz, another romantic work of no less repute than the Humā-ū-Humāyūn:-

دردان گلزار روحانی نظر کن - وزین گلزار جسمانی گذر کن
که هر گوشه مقیم باغ قدسی - نگردد آنس با این جن دانی

- (2)
You ought to look at that garden of soul,
And leave this bodily vale, on the whole;
That one who lived in Purity's vale, then,
Is ne'er attached to all these ghosts and men.

In the above couplets, he inculcates the lesson of annihilation and this is nothing else but "the doctrine of annihilation (fanā), i.e. ^{the} passing away of individual consciousness in the will of God", to quote again the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Edition 14, Vol. 21, page 522. Is it not clear that he shows his mysticism even in his romantic poems?

Secondly, he meant to revive the spirit of romantic poetry by attempting romance in the same way as he revived panegyrical and lyrical poetry after the fall of poetry during the Mongol supremacy. He shone best in this attempt as well, and hence is appealing to his readers; otherwise, he was a true mystic as already proved to be on the internal evidence of

Thirdly, he was a born poet and as a poet, in the words of Plato, if he is really to be a poet, should not only put together words, but should invent stories.⁽¹⁾ It is the reason for his writing romance; otherwise, he was a mystic pure and simple with his works full of mysticism.

Conclusion. At this stage, if even a scholar like Maulānā Shiblī says, "But Salmān and Khwājū are both deprived of mysticism, hence there is no smell in these flowers", then we dare to reproduce a couplet from that very chapter on the Mystics, in the Kamāl-nāmah, which is written in a prophetic strain as a curt reply to a critic of our Maulānā's position, who declared he was not a mystic:

(1) سست خوابو ز مہر مطلع غیب - گر کنی عیب او نباشد عیب

From the Invisible's horizon's Sun
Khwājū's; if you scold him, no harm is done.

Work at Kirmān. As has already been argued in the chapter "Heyday of Prosperity", the last work of Khwājū is the Gauhar-nāmah, composed in 746 A.H., a date reproduced from the words of our poet:-

مہ تیر وز نہ یک نیم رفتہ - ز بہرت ذال و داو و میم رفتہ
The month of Tīr and half of it had past,
From Hijrat zāl and vav and mīm ran fast.

On its perusal we gather that he praised Mubārīz-ud-Dīn Muzāffar in its prologue. This man conquered Kirmān in 1340 (741 A.H.). On the authority of these historical facts, is it not safely inferred that the book was written at Kirmān? If any one raises a question as to the validity of this statement, then, in response, we are prepared to remind that person of the non-attachment of our poet to any court, and of the retirement to Kirmān, after his travels, as stated in Chapter VII. Disgusted by the chaotic period and tired of his wanderings, he longed for Kirmān. He reached there at last, whence he came to Shīrāz in the court of Abū Ishāk (1) (reigned 742-754/ 1341-1353) after 746 A.H. 1345 A.D.

If, quite appropriately, a question is raised that he dedicated the Kamāl Nāmah to Abū Ishāk of Shīrāz in 744 A.H., two years earlier than the dedication of the Gauhar Nāmah from Kirmān to Mubārīz-ud-Dīn, then it is pointed out in reply thereof that it was done so indeed, but it was done to propitiate the feelings of Abū Ishāk at the persuasion of Shams-ud-Dīn Sāin, the patron of our poet and the minister of Abū Ishāk: otherwise, he was at Kirmān; because he dedicated after two years in 746 A.H. the Gauhar Nāmah to Mubārīz-ud-Dīn and he could not write it at Shīrāz and dedicate it to Mubārīz-ud-Dīn, a rival of Abū Ishāk of Shīrāz. This could never be so, but rather he wrote the Gauhar Nāmah at Kirmān, and dedicated it to Mubārīz-ud-Dīn in order to win the favour of the conqueror, on the ground of there being a rupture between the court of Yazd and our poet as already mentioned in chapter VII; hence Mubārīz-ud-Dīn's anger was soothed not to commit any deed of molestation against our poet; yet he did not invite him to his court. On the contrary, Shams-ud-Dīn persuaded Abū Ishāk to invite Khwājū from Kirmān to Shīrāz after 746 A.H.; when in 748 A.H. Abū Ishāk "appointed Sayyid Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn 'Alī and Shams-ud-Dīn Sāin jointly to this post" of ministership, pages 160-161, the Supplementary Chapter, the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah.

Days at Shīrāz. During his stay at Shīrāz, he was brought up as the protege of Abū Ishāk. He seems to have produced no book there. Due to old

age, his nerves could not endure, naturally, the incessant mental labour necessary for the production of a long poem. Nevertheless, for the sake of intellectual recreation, he wrote odes even in old age, as has been proved authoritatively in the chapter on the Lyrics. They were all the more appealing to him as they consist of stray thoughts. Moreover, they do not require constant application of the mind to a certain theme. At any rate, his literary activities were not discontinued even in the time of his grey hairs.

Place of his Death. There is a difference of opinion about the place where he died. First of all, we take up those authors who differ from us and write that he was not at Shīrāz at the time of his death. Daulat Shāh says, "He was a *ṣūfī* of *ṣūfīābād*" till his last days. The author of the *Majālis-ul-Mu'minīn* follows him blindly without uplifting the veil of ignorance as to the situation of *Ṣūfī-ābād*.

Secondly, the author of the *Mai-Khānah* says, "Afzal-ud-Dīn left the service of his religious leader (*'Alā-ud-Daulā Samnānī*) and came over to Kirmān. He devoted himself to Divine worship along with other dervishes." (2) He continues still to say, "It has been ascertained correctly that Khwājū lived for 62 years. He died in 742 A.H. at Kirmān, sixty years after the death of his bright-minded religious director." (3)

The authors who agree with our opinion are the compilers of the *Majmā' ul-Fuṣṣah*, the *Āṣār-i-Ājam*, and the *Khizānah-i-Amīrah*. The first says, "He is buried in the defile of Allāh—Akbar." (4) The second asserts, "His grave is in the Eastern alcove of the College of Shīrāz." (5) The third writes, "His grave is in the defile of Allāh—Akbar of Shīrāz." (6) This view is also supported by a modern writer, Dr Masrūr, "After the age of seventy-four years, he died in the city of Shīrāz. The grave of Khwājū is in the defile of Allāh—Akbar at the foot of the mountain. It is covered with various kinds of natural flowers. It is visited by masters of the mind. It is also a place of recreation for men of taste" (7)

Although we have already proved absolutely in Chapter VII that Khwājū was at Shīrāz near the end of his life, yet placing before us the

(۱) و سالها در صوفی آباد صوفی بود - تذکره ص ۱۶۴

(۲) افضل الدین از ملازمت پیرمفارتت نموده به کرمان آمد و در اینجا خانقاه بساخت بقیه عمر در آن خانقاه باده و ایشان دیگر بنده ای برتی مشغول گرد

(۳) و بصحت رسیده که خواجو شصت و دو سال عمر گزارانده و در کرمان در سنه اثنی وربعین و سبعمائه شش سال بعد از آن که پیر روشن غیرش از عالم باقی خراسانیه - میخانه ص ۴۲ و ۴۳

(۴) در تنگ الله اکبر شیراز مدفون است - مجمع الفصاح ص ۱۵

(۵) مصحفش در تکیه مشرقی دارالعلم شیراز است - ص ۳۲ و ۳۳ و ۳۴

(۶) مصحفش در تکیه مشرقی دارالعلم شیراز است - ص ۲۱۵ خزانه عامه

(۷) قبر خواجو در تنگ الله اکبر شیراز در دامنه کوهی که از انواع گلها طبعی مفروش است سطا فاعل دل و محل تفرج صاحبان ذوق است ص ۱۱۱ مقدمه تاشه روحیه هنر و ادب

statements of the authors of the "Memoirs of the Poets", and the "Majālis-ul-Mu'minīn", and the "Mai-Khānah", we are quite correct in asserting that they omitted the last days of his life at Shīrāz and contented themselves without any further research with the period of his stay in the shrine for the composition of the Kamāl Nāmah. On the contrary, it is a hard fact of his life, that he left the shrine and Kirmān and went over to Shīrāz, where he met his death in the end.

Now, as to the statement of the authors of the "Majma'-ul-Fuṣahā", the "Āṣār-i-'Ajam", the "Khizānah-i-'Āmirah", and Dr Masrūr, we are very glad to see therein what we have already proved. If, for the sake of argument, we presume to say that Khwājū died at Kirmān, then what was the need of carrying the dead body from Kirmān to Shīrāz in those days of absence of proper means of conveyance (without great expense), when our poet's family was ever in straitened circumstances? Still more, there has not been found any will of our poet's, written at any time or at any place, to the effect that he ought to be buried at Shīrāz, while in his heart of hearts he was attached to his birth-place, Kirmān, as has been shown already. For even in the absence of any epitaph, the Persians up to this time assign the grave of Khwājū to Shīrāz (1). If this is not so, has any one proved the grave of Khwājū to be at Kirmān? Certainly the reply to this question is in the negative. Then it follows definitely that Khwājū died at Shīrāz and was buried at Shīrāz as well.

Now, taking this very important question of place of death in another light, we say that it is nothing short of chasing a will-o-the-wisp to get internal evidence in the works of Khwājū as regards the place of his death. We cannot find any direct reference to it at all therein, for, of course, how can any one specify the place of his death in life? Indirectly there is evidence already pointed out in the chapter "The Heyday of Prosperity" that he was disgusted with Baghdād and longed for Kirmān after the death of Abū Sa'id Khān Bahādur. Had he returned in disgust or otherwise from Shīrāz, or had he fallen in the eyes of Abū Ishāq prior to his return, he would have poured forth that accident one way or other in some form of poetry like the incident of Baghdād. In the absence of such reference in his works, directly or indirectly, it is proved on his evidence that he died at Shīrāz.

The author of the Khizānah-i-'Āmirah writes a very strange story about the death of Khwājū. It is to the effect "that (Khwājū) was the eulogist of

(۱) ادوال و منتخب اشعار خواجہ کرمانی ص ۲۸ سید نفیسی "مسافرتین نیز گواہی میدهند که در شربت ابرار مجلسیت" میرزا محمد منیر خواجہ کرمانی پراچین است.

Muhammad Muzaffar. At last he was displeased with him, so he went to Abū Ishāq, the ruler at Shīrāz. He won his favour. He read a eulogy at the ceremony of 'Alī Sahl's circumcision (he was the son of the above-mentioned king). The king awarded him ~~him~~ a plate full of gold. Khwājū died instantaneously at the sight of that plate on account of excessive joy in 753 A.H." (1)

To corroborate this statement, let us reproduce the quotation from the supplementary chapter of the Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, page 167, Vol. II about Prince Sahl, "Finally in the month of Ramaḍān (A.H. 754 = October, 1353).... Mubārīzūḍ-Dīn and his troops entered the town on Shawwāl 3 (= Nov. 1 1353), and Abū Ishāq, with some ^{of his} followers fled to Shūlistān,.... Mubārīzūḍ-Dīn conferred the government of Kirmān on Shāh Shujā', and handed over to him 'Alī Sahl, the ten-year-old son of Abū Ishāq, Amir Beg Jakāz, and Kulū Fakhrūḍ-Dīn. The second was drowned in the Kirmān river, the last was put to death at Kirmān, and the child was murdered near Rafsinjān."

According to the above quotation, it follows quite clearly that the death of Khwājū and the ceremony of circumcision of 'Alī Sahl are concurrent in 753, while the Prince was nine years of age at that time. It looks perfectly contradictory to the Muslim law that the prince was circumcised at the age of nine years, one year previous to the time of his death; while as a rule, the baby boy of a Muslim of an average position in life is circumcised seven days after his birth or at the most on reaching the age of two or three years. Still again, there is no Kaśīda in the works of Khwājū to bear evidence to the fact that it was read; for such a Kaśīda was worth keeping as the last poem of the poet. This story, hence, is a concoction of somebody's brain on the face of it.

The Year of Khwājū's Death. The author of the "Memoirs of the Poets" assigns 742 A.H. as the year of his death. The authors of the Majālis-ul-Mū'mīnīn, and the "Maī-Khānah" quote the same year without noticing the fact that Khwājū wrote the Gul-o-Nauruz in the year 743 A.H.,

(2) ^{1342 A.D.} ^{روضه الانوار ص ۹۸} ^{چون عین منهل هلال} ^{و آمده چوین بریم و ذال -}
 To mīm and zāl then jīm was added so,
 The crescent shod shone like a shoe, you know.

the Kamāl-Nāmah in 744 A.H.,

(3) ^{1343 A.D.} ^{شده تباریخ مفصل و چار -} ^{کار این نقش آذری چون کار} ^{کمال نامه}
 This Āzar's work in seven forty-four
 Like to a sweet-looking beloved ever more.

and the Gauhar-nāmah in 746 A.H., /1345 A.D.,

(۱) مادح محمد مظفر بود آخر از ورنجیده نزد شاه ابوالحاق دایه شیراز رفت و مشمول عواطف گردید - و در رسم ختان علی ساهل بن شاه مذکور قصیده گفته بفرض رسانید شاه طبقه پسر زر عنایت کرد و خواجو بچند مشایخه طبق زر شادی مرگ شده و از فرط انبساط در پرواز کردی سینه تلت خمیس و بیجا یسته خزان عامره ص ۲۱۵ مطبع دولتشور کابل ۱۳۴۱

(1) ^{سید نفیسی ص 56} ^{مهرتیر و زم یک نیم رفته - ز بهجرت ذال و واد و نیم رفته}
 The month of Tīr and half of it had past
 From Hīrat zāl and vay and mīm ran fast.

How can it be possible that a man who died, according to the research of the above authors in ¹³⁴¹742 should come to life to write his works in ¹³⁴²743, ¹³⁴³744, and ¹³⁴⁵746 A.H.? The truth of the matter is this that their research was based on the external grounds supplied by the accounts of others and they did not read Khwājū's own works to get the authority of internal evidence. Similarly the author of the ⁽²⁾Majmā'-ul-Fuṣāḥā writes ¹¹⁰⁹503 A.H., as the year of his death, another piece of anachronism pure and simple, based on the fact that he wrote so many works prior to ¹³⁴⁵746 A.H., which, in reality, is the date of his last work.

Hāj Khalīfah contradicts himself in the Kashf-ul-Zanūn as to the date of his death by writing ¹²⁴⁴642 A.H., ¹³⁴¹742 A.H., and ¹⁴³⁸842 A.H. - (3) - the difference of a century at each time nearly. This verifies our statement again, already discussed before in the chapter III that the research of the Oriental scholar is not based scientifically on the internal evidence of the authors themselves, but on the external accounts of other writers; hence these inaccuracies!

The author of the Kāmūs-ul-Ālām gives ¹³⁶⁰762 A.H. (4) as the year of his death. The modern writer Sa'īd Nafīsī, after very interesting criticism supports this year and gives his final decision to be ¹³⁶⁰762 or ¹³⁶¹763 A.H. (5) To scrutinize this, we quote the couplet of Hāfiz written in commemoration of the death of Abū Ishāq. It runs thus:- (6)

ببل و سرو و سمن یاسمن و لاله و گل - هست تاریخ وفات شه سبیل کاکل
 خرو روئے زمین شاه زمان بواجاق - که بم طلع او نازد و خندد بر گل
 جبه سبت و یکم ماه جمادی الاولی - در پسین بود که پیوسته شد از بنز و گل

It can be easily deduced thence that Abū Ishāq died in ¹³⁵⁶757 A.H. As Khwājū is perfectly silent about this event and no hint is found of it in his works.

No doubt, we admire the pains of Sa'īd Nafīsī which he underwent to trace out the year of the death of Khwājū, but the mistake which crept into his research is the year of Khwājū's birth stated in the Gul-u-Nauruz. The manuscript in the possession of Sa'īd Nafīsī has 689 A.H.

ز بهجرت شمس و بهشتا دیهال (6)

- (1) در سنه هجری وفات یافته - بحج الفصا ص 15
 (2) احوال و منتخب اشعار خواج کرمانی ص 24 - 1 اما حاج خدیفه در کشف الظنون در یک جا حدیث خواجو را در ۶۳۲ و ۶۳۳ و ۶۳۴ و ۶۳۵ و ۶۳۶ و ۶۳۷ و ۶۳۸ و ۶۳۹ و ۶۴۰ و ۶۴۱ و ۶۴۲ و ۶۴۳ و ۶۴۴ و ۶۴۵ و ۶۴۶ و ۶۴۷ و ۶۴۸ و ۶۴۹ و ۶۵۰ و ۶۵۱ و ۶۵۲ و ۶۵۳ و ۶۵۴ و ۶۵۵ و ۶۵۶ و ۶۵۷ و ۶۵۸ و ۶۵۹ و ۶۶۰ و ۶۶۱ و ۶۶۲ و ۶۶۳ و ۶۶۴ و ۶۶۵ و ۶۶۶ و ۶۶۷ و ۶۶۸ و ۶۶۹ و ۶۷۰ و ۶۷۱ و ۶۷۲ و ۶۷۳ و ۶۷۴ و ۶۷۵ و ۶۷۶ و ۶۷۷ و ۶۷۸ و ۶۷۹ و ۶۸۰ و ۶۸۱ و ۶۸۲ و ۶۸۳ و ۶۸۴ و ۶۸۵ و ۶۸۶ و ۶۸۷ و ۶۸۸ و ۶۸۹ و ۶۹۰ و ۶۹۱ و ۶۹۲ و ۶۹۳ و ۶۹۴ و ۶۹۵ و ۶۹۶ و ۶۹۷ و ۶۹۸ و ۶۹۹ و ۷۰۰ و ۷۰۱ و ۷۰۲ و ۷۰۳ و ۷۰۴ و ۷۰۵ و ۷۰۶ و ۷۰۷ و ۷۰۸ و ۷۰۹ و ۷۱۰ و ۷۱۱ و ۷۱۲ و ۷۱۳ و ۷۱۴ و ۷۱۵ و ۷۱۶ و ۷۱۷ و ۷۱۸ و ۷۱۹ و ۷۲۰ و ۷۲۱ و ۷۲۲ و ۷۲۳ و ۷۲۴ و ۷۲۵ و ۷۲۶ و ۷۲۷ و ۷۲۸ و ۷۲۹ و ۷۳۰ و ۷۳۱ و ۷۳۲ و ۷۳۳ و ۷۳۴ و ۷۳۵ و ۷۳۶ و ۷۳۷ و ۷۳۸ و ۷۳۹ و ۷۴۰ و ۷۴۱ و ۷۴۲ و ۷۴۳ و ۷۴۴ و ۷۴۵ و ۷۴۶ و ۷۴۷ و ۷۴۸ و ۷۴۹ و ۷۵۰ و ۷۵۱ و ۷۵۲ و ۷۵۳ و ۷۵۴ و ۷۵۵ و ۷۵۶ و ۷۵۷ و ۷۵۸ و ۷۵۹ و ۷۶۰ و ۷۶۱ و ۷۶۲ و ۷۶۳ و ۷۶۴ و ۷۶۵ و ۷۶۶ و ۷۶۷ و ۷۶۸ و ۷۶۹ و ۷۷۰ و ۷۷۱ و ۷۷۲ و ۷۷۳ و ۷۷۴ و ۷۷۵ و ۷۷۶ و ۷۷۷ و ۷۷۸ و ۷۷۹ و ۷۸۰ و ۷۸۱ و ۷۸۲ و ۷۸۳ و ۷۸۴ و ۷۸۵ و ۷۸۶ و ۷۸۷ و ۷۸۸ و ۷۸۹ و ۷۹۰ و ۷۹۱ و ۷۹۲ و ۷۹۳ و ۷۹۴ و ۷۹۵ و ۷۹۶ و ۷۹۷ و ۷۹۸ و ۷۹۹ و ۸۰۰ و ۸۰۱ و ۸۰۲ و ۸۰۳ و ۸۰۴ و ۸۰۵ و ۸۰۶ و ۸۰۷ و ۸۰۸ و ۸۰۹ و ۸۱۰ و ۸۱۱ و ۸۱۲ و ۸۱۳ و ۸۱۴ و ۸۱۵ و ۸۱۶ و ۸۱۷ و ۸۱۸ و ۸۱۹ و ۸۲۰ و ۸۲۱ و ۸۲۲ و ۸۲۳ و ۸۲۴ و ۸۲۵ و ۸۲۶ و ۸۲۷ و ۸۲۸ و ۸۲۹ و ۸۳۰ و ۸۳۱ و ۸۳۲ و ۸۳۳ و ۸۳۴ و ۸۳۵ و ۸۳۶ و ۸۳۷ و ۸۳۸ و ۸۳۹ و ۸۴۰ و ۸۴۱ و ۸۴۲ و ۸۴۳ و ۸۴۴ و ۸۴۵ و ۸۴۶ و ۸۴۷ و ۸۴۸ و ۸۴۹ و ۸۵۰ و ۸۵۱ و ۸۵۲ و ۸۵۳ و ۸۵۴ و ۸۵۵ و ۸۵۶ و ۸۵۷ و ۸۵۸ و ۸۵۹ و ۸۶۰ و ۸۶۱ و ۸۶۲ و ۸۶۳ و ۸۶۴ و ۸۶۵ و ۸۶۶ و ۸۶۷ و ۸۶۸ و ۸۶۹ و ۸۷۰ و ۸۷۱ و ۸۷۲ و ۸۷۳ و ۸۷۴ و ۸۷۵ و ۸۷۶ و ۸۷۷ و ۸۷۸ و ۸۷۹ و ۸۸۰ و ۸۸۱ و ۸۸۲ و ۸۸۳ و ۸۸۴ و ۸۸۵ و ۸۸۶ و ۸۸۷ و ۸۸۸ و ۸۸۹ و ۸۹۰ و ۸۹۱ و ۸۹۲ و ۸۹۳ و ۸۹۴ و ۸۹۵ و ۸۹۶ و ۸۹۷ و ۸۹۸ و ۸۹۹ و ۹۰۰ و ۹۰۱ و ۹۰۲ و ۹۰۳ و ۹۰۴ و ۹۰۵ و ۹۰۶ و ۹۰۷ و ۹۰۸ و ۹۰۹ و ۹۱۰ و ۹۱۱ و ۹۱۲ و ۹۱۳ و ۹۱۴ و ۹۱۵ و ۹۱۶ و ۹۱۷ و ۹۱۸ و ۹۱۹ و ۹۲۰ و ۹۲۱ و ۹۲۲ و ۹۲۳ و ۹۲۴ و ۹۲۵ و ۹۲۶ و ۹۲۷ و ۹۲۸ و ۹۲۹ و ۹۳۰ و ۹۳۱ و ۹۳۲ و ۹۳۳ و ۹۳۴ و ۹۳۵ و ۹۳۶ و ۹۳۷ و ۹۳۸ و ۹۳۹ و ۹۴۰ و ۹۴۱ و ۹۴۲ و ۹۴۳ و ۹۴۴ و ۹۴۵ و ۹۴۶ و ۹۴۷ و ۹۴۸ و ۹۴۹ و ۹۵۰ و ۹۵۱ و ۹۵۲ و ۹۵۳ و ۹۵۴ و ۹۵۵ و ۹۵۶ و ۹۵۷ و ۹۵۸ و ۹۵۹ و ۹۶۰ و ۹۶۱ و ۹۶۲ و ۹۶۳ و ۹۶۴ و ۹۶۵ و ۹۶۶ و ۹۶۷ و ۹۶۸ و ۹۶۹ و ۹۷۰ و ۹۷۱ و ۹۷۲ و ۹۷۳ و ۹۷۴ و ۹۷۵ و ۹۷۶ و ۹۷۷ و ۹۷۸ و ۹۷۹ و ۹۸۰ و ۹۸۱ و ۹۸۲ و ۹۸۳ و ۹۸۴ و ۹۸۵ و ۹۸۶ و ۹۸۷ و ۹۸۸ و ۹۸۹ و ۹۹۰ و ۹۹۱ و ۹۹۲ و ۹۹۳ و ۹۹۴ و ۹۹۵ و ۹۹۶ و ۹۹۷ و ۹۹۸ و ۹۹۹ و ۱۰۰۰ و ۱۰۰۱ و ۱۰۰۲ و ۱۰۰۳ و ۱۰۰۴ و ۱۰۰۵ و ۱۰۰۶ و ۱۰۰۷ و ۱۰۰۸ و ۱۰۰۹ و ۱۰۱۰ و ۱۰۱۱ و ۱۰۱۲ و ۱۰۱۳ و ۱۰۱۴ و ۱۰۱۵ و ۱۰۱۶ و ۱۰۱۷ و ۱۰۱۸ و ۱۰۱۹ و ۱۰۲۰ و ۱۰۲۱ و ۱۰۲۲ و ۱۰۲۳ و ۱۰۲۴ و ۱۰۲۵ و ۱۰۲۶ و ۱۰۲۷ و ۱۰۲۸ و ۱۰۲۹ و ۱۰۳۰ و ۱۰۳۱ و ۱۰۳۲ و ۱۰۳۳ و ۱۰۳۴ و ۱۰۳۵ و ۱۰۳۶ و ۱۰۳۷ و ۱۰۳۸ و ۱۰۳۹ و ۱۰۴۰ و ۱۰۴۱ و ۱۰۴۲ و ۱۰۴۳ و ۱۰۴۴ و ۱۰۴۵ و ۱۰۴۶ و ۱۰۴۷ و ۱۰۴۸ و ۱۰۴۹ و ۱۰۵۰ و ۱۰۵۱ و ۱۰۵۲ و ۱۰۵۳ و ۱۰۵۴ و ۱۰۵۵ و ۱۰۵۶ و ۱۰۵۷ و ۱۰۵۸ و ۱۰۵۹ و ۱۰۶۰ و ۱۰۶۱ و ۱۰۶۲ و ۱۰۶۳ و ۱۰۶۴ و ۱۰۶۵ و ۱۰۶۶ و ۱۰۶۷ و ۱۰۶۸ و ۱۰۶۹ و ۱۰۷۰ و ۱۰۷۱ و ۱۰۷۲ و ۱۰۷۳ و ۱۰۷۴ و ۱۰۷۵ و ۱۰۷۶ و ۱۰۷۷ و ۱۰۷۸ و ۱۰۷۹ و ۱۰۸۰ و ۱۰۸۱ و ۱۰۸۲ و ۱۰۸۳ و ۱۰۸۴ و ۱۰۸۵ و ۱۰۸۶ و ۱۰۸۷ و ۱۰۸۸ و ۱۰۸۹ و ۱۰۹۰ و ۱۰۹۱ و ۱۰۹۲ و ۱۰۹۳ و ۱۰۹۴ و ۱۰۹۵ و ۱۰۹۶ و ۱۰۹۷ و ۱۰۹۸ و ۱۰۹۹ و ۱۱۰۰ و ۱۱۰۱ و ۱۱۰۲ و ۱۱۰۳ و ۱۱۰۴ و ۱۱۰۵ و ۱۱۰۶ و ۱۱۰۷ و ۱۱۰۸ و ۱۱۰۹ و ۱۱۱۰ و ۱۱۱۱ و ۱۱۱۲ و ۱۱۱۳ و ۱۱۱۴ و ۱۱۱۵ و ۱۱۱۶ و ۱۱۱۷ و ۱۱۱۸ و ۱۱۱۹ و ۱۱۲۰ و ۱۱۲۱ و ۱۱۲۲ و ۱۱۲۳ و ۱۱۲۴ و ۱۱۲۵ و ۱۱۲۶ و ۱۱۲۷ و ۱۱۲۸ و ۱۱۲۹ و ۱۱۳۰ و ۱۱۳۱ و ۱۱۳۲ و ۱۱۳۳ و ۱۱۳۴ و ۱۱۳۵ و ۱۱۳۶ و ۱۱۳۷ و ۱۱۳۸ و ۱۱۳۹ و ۱۱۴۰ و ۱۱۴۱ و ۱۱۴۲ و ۱۱۴۳ و ۱۱۴۴ و ۱۱۴۵ و ۱۱۴۶ و ۱۱۴۷ و ۱۱۴۸ و ۱۱۴۹ و ۱۱۵۰ و ۱۱۵۱ و ۱۱۵۲ و ۱۱۵۳ و ۱۱۵۴ و ۱۱۵۵ و ۱۱۵۶ و ۱۱۵۷ و ۱۱۵۸ و ۱۱۵۹ و ۱۱۶۰ و ۱۱۶۱ و ۱۱۶۲ و ۱۱۶۳ و ۱۱۶۴ و ۱۱۶۵ و ۱۱۶۶ و ۱۱۶۷ و ۱۱۶۸ و ۱۱۶۹ و ۱۱۷۰ و ۱۱۷۱ و ۱۱۷۲ و ۱۱۷۳ و ۱۱۷۴ و ۱۱۷۵ و ۱۱۷۶ و ۱۱۷۷ و ۱۱۷۸ و ۱۱۷۹ و ۱۱۸۰ و ۱۱۸۱ و ۱۱۸۲ و ۱۱۸۳ و ۱۱۸۴ و ۱۱۸۵ و ۱۱۸۶ و ۱۱۸۷ و ۱۱۸۸ و ۱۱۸۹ و ۱۱۹۰ و ۱۱۹۱ و ۱۱۹۲ و ۱۱۹۳ و ۱۱۹۴ و ۱۱۹۵ و ۱۱۹۶ و ۱۱۹۷ و ۱۱۹۸ و ۱۱۹۹ و ۱۲۰۰ و ۱۲۰۱ و ۱۲۰۲ و ۱۲۰۳ و ۱۲۰۴ و ۱۲۰۵ و ۱۲۰۶ و ۱۲۰۷ و ۱۲۰۸ و ۱۲۰۹ و ۱۲۱۰ و ۱۲۱۱ و ۱۲۱۲ و ۱۲۱۳ و ۱۲۱۴ و ۱۲۱۵ و ۱۲۱۶ و ۱۲۱۷ و ۱۲۱۸ و ۱۲۱۹ و ۱۲۲۰ و ۱۲۲۱ و ۱۲۲۲ و ۱۲۲۳ و ۱۲۲۴ و ۱۲۲۵ و ۱۲۲۶ و ۱۲۲۷ و ۱۲۲۸ و ۱۲۲۹ و ۱۲۳۰ و ۱۲۳۱ و ۱۲۳۲ و ۱۲۳۳ و ۱۲۳۴ و ۱۲۳۵ و ۱۲۳۶ و ۱۲۳۷ و ۱۲۳۸ و ۱۲۳۹ و ۱۲۴۰ و ۱۲۴۱ و ۱۲۴۲ و ۱۲۴۳ و ۱۲۴۴ و ۱۲۴۵ و ۱۲۴۶ و ۱۲۴۷ و ۱۲۴۸ و ۱۲۴۹ و ۱۲۵۰ و ۱۲۵۱ و ۱۲۵۲ و ۱۲۵۳ و ۱۲۵۴ و ۱۲۵۵ و ۱۲۵۶ و ۱۲۵۷ و ۱۲۵۸ و ۱۲۵۹ و ۱۲۶۰ و ۱۲۶۱ و ۱۲۶۲ و ۱۲۶۳ و ۱۲۶۴ و ۱۲۶۵ و ۱۲۶۶ و ۱۲۶۷ و ۱۲۶۸ و ۱۲۶۹ و ۱۲۷۰ و ۱۲۷۱ و ۱۲۷۲ و ۱۲۷۳ و ۱۲۷۴ و ۱۲۷۵ و ۱۲۷۶ و ۱۲۷۷ و ۱۲۷۸ و ۱۲۷۹ و ۱۲۸۰ و ۱۲۸۱ و ۱۲۸۲ و ۱۲۸۳ و ۱۲۸۴ و ۱۲۸۵ و ۱۲۸۶ و ۱۲۸۷ و ۱۲۸۸ و ۱۲۸۹ و ۱۲۹۰ و ۱۲۹۱ و ۱۲۹۲ و ۱۲۹۳ و ۱۲۹۴ و ۱۲۹۵ و ۱۲۹۶ و ۱۲۹۷ و ۱۲۹۸ و ۱۲۹۹ و ۱۳۰۰ و ۱۳۰۱ و ۱۳۰۲ و ۱۳۰۳ و ۱۳۰۴ و ۱۳۰۵ و ۱۳۰۶ و ۱۳۰۷ و ۱۳۰۸ و ۱۳۰۹ و ۱۳۱۰ و ۱۳۱۱ و ۱۳۱۲ و ۱۳۱۳ و ۱۳۱۴ و ۱۳۱۵ و ۱۳۱۶ و ۱۳۱۷ و ۱۳۱۸ و ۱۳۱۹ و ۱۳۲۰ و ۱۳۲۱ و ۱۳۲۲ و ۱۳۲۳ و ۱۳۲۴ و ۱۳۲۵ و ۱۳۲۶ و ۱۳۲۷ و ۱۳۲۸ و ۱۳۲۹ و ۱۳۳۰ و ۱۳۳۱ و ۱۳۳۲ و ۱۳۳۳ و ۱۳۳۴ و ۱۳۳۵ و ۱۳۳۶ و ۱۳۳۷ و ۱۳۳۸ و ۱۳۳۹ و ۱۳۴۰ و ۱۳۴۱ و ۱۳۴۲ و ۱۳۴۳ و ۱۳۴۴ و ۱۳۴۵ و ۱۳۴۶ و ۱۳۴۷ و ۱۳۴۸ و ۱۳۴۹ و ۱۳۵۰ و ۱۳۵۱ و ۱۳۵۲ و ۱۳۵۳ و ۱۳۵۴ و ۱۳۵۵ و ۱۳۵۶ و ۱۳۵۷ و ۱۳۵۸ و ۱۳۵۹ و ۱۳۶۰ و ۱۳۶۱ و ۱۳۶۲ و ۱۳۶۳ و ۱۳۶۴ و ۱۳۶۵ و ۱۳۶۶ و ۱۳۶۷ و ۱۳۶۸ و ۱۳۶۹ و ۱۳۷۰ و ۱۳۷۱ و ۱۳۷۲ و ۱۳۷۳ و ۱۳۷۴ و ۱۳۷۵ و ۱۳۷۶ و ۱۳۷۷ و ۱۳۷۸ و ۱۳۷۹ و ۱۳۸۰ و ۱۳۸۱ و ۱۳۸۲ و ۱۳۸۳ و ۱۳۸۴ و 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but the manuscripts in the possession of Dr Erdmann, who is followed by Dr Rieu and Professor Browne, and the manuscript in the possession of Dr Masrūr have 679 A.H.
1280 A.D.
 Here lies a difference of ten years, which, in the case of its elimination on the condition of internal evidence, reduces the year of Khwājū's death to 753 or 754 A.H. This is the date which appeals to us as correct on the historical evidence of the flight of Abū Ishāk from Shīrāz in 754 A.H., and the disappearance of any account of our poet, either in his own words or in those of others, from the record of history.

As regards the elimination of the difference of ten years, let us ascertain the dates. Calligraphists are apt to commit the mistake of **ف** and **ش** in **هفتاد** and **هشتاد** respectively. The possessor of each manuscript may claim to be right. Had there been any manuscript of the Gul-u-Nauruz in the handwriting of Khwājū, the question would have been settled there and then. In the absence of such evidence, all the scholars were expected to remove this mistake by unearthing the truth of the matter from Khwājū's works; but it is a pity to have to admit that all of them have ignored this most important event of his birth in the light of comparing the years stated in all the available manuscripts.

To find out which is correct, we, by the grace of Allah, reproduce the couplets of the Rauza-tul-Anvār, trace out the date of his birth, and reduce the difference of ten years at a stroke in the words of Khwājū himself

بود یک مطرب در تان نواز - ساز همیشه زرباش بساز
 روضۃ الانوار ص ۵۳

تغنیہ را وجہ غنا ساختہ - روز جوانی بنوا ساختہ
 روضۃ الانوار ص ۵۵

مدت عمرش چون پیبری رسید - روز غناش بفقیری رسید

بانگ نوازش ز غزل در گذشت - کانی ز غزل و غزل در گذشت

صحنه شد بر باطن خراب - ساختہ میرز مزمع دل رباب

در فلک انگنه بزاری نفیر - کرد سناجات بر آنگ ز میر

از دل پیر درد بنالید گفت - ای تو شناسنده قول نیت

نام و فریاد رسم نیست کنس - چند کنم ناله بفریاد رس

نیت درین پرده دگر سوز ساز - جز بتو آنگ دل پرده ساز

بر در مخلوق شدم شخصت سال - یافته از دور زمان گوشتال

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بهر تو امروز نوا میزنم - یک نه از پیر پیر میزنم

چنگ و ربابم چو نشد دستگیر - مفلنم از یاد کنون دستگیر

چون بامید کریم آدم - نطق نماگر چه کریم آدم

D. M. G. for 1848 Vol. II pp. 212-213.

(Khwājū) states in the Epilogue of Gul u Nauruz (a passage not found in the Museum, but quoted by Erdmann in his "Chendische Germania", Zeitschrift der Deutschen Orientalischen Gesellschaft, Vol. II. pp 205-215) that he was born on the fifth of Shavval, A. H. 679. Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum, Vol. II, p. 62. History of Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion, p. 226.

(۴) هر سال ... خواجه در سال ۶۷۹ هجری در کرمان متولد شده صحیح مقدمه ناشر روضۃ الانوار طهرانی

اے کرمت بے حد و من بے لوثا - دست تہی باز مگردان مرا
میزد و از دیدہ گہر میفتانہ - لعل روان بر سر زرے فشانہ
درغ نیازش چو نفس بر کشید - در نفس از غیب کے در رسید
بدرہ از زر زمیاں برکت د - مدح و ثنا گفتش و پیش ہزار
من شدم آن پیر ترخہ سراے - کردہ درین گوشہ ویرانہ جاے

There was a singer who sang carols sweet,
His rebeck won his means of life so meet;.....
The means of his wealth the carols made he,
His days of youth he lost in melody;
When his life-time did old age meet with then
His time of wealth reached poverty again.
His music fell short of its action all,
He could not sing a song, an ode, withal.
At dawn he went to an inn helplessly,
The rebeck tuned to the heart's charm so free.
He wept to heaven then so loud, so high,
And prayed there in a voice that sharp did cry;
He wept and said with his heart full of woe,
"Oh! Thou the secrets of my mind doth know;
I weep there is no helper for me here,
How long should I cry for my helper dear?
There is none but Thee in this strain of woe
In tune with the heart of the singer, oh!
For sixty years I at the door of all
Begged and met the rebukes of times withal.
My carols sweet to-day I sing for Thee,
For avarice 'tis not my melody;
As the lyre and the rebeck helped me not,
Don't throw me down, for Thy help I have sought.
I have come with the hope of charity,
Be kind, though I have not come frequently;
Thy grace no one can count, I am so poor,
Don't turn me empty-handed from Thy door."
He cried and shed the pearls from his eyes then,
The flowing gems cast down on gold again.
When silent grew the prayer bird anon
From the sphere unseen there came up some one,
And opened a purse from his girdle he
With praises placed it 'fore him presently.
I was the singer of these carols e'er,
Who lived in the deserted corner there.

With regard to his own age, after a long description, fortunately in the last couplet, he calls himself that very singer and asserts that he is sixty years. This was at the time of the composition of the Rauza-tul-Anvār. As the Rauza-tul-Anvār was composed in 742 A.H., he could ^{not} call himself sixty years of age in anticipation, while he was fifty-four years of age only at that time on the presumption of his having been born in 689 A.H. In other words, it is equivalent to saying that he was not born in 689 A.H. On the contrary, he was born in 679 A.H. and he left the odd numbers and versified sixty years only instead of sixty four years as it would be quite natural to do; or he avoided the syllables too many for his facility in rhyme and metre; otherwise he had passed sixty years of his age quite reasonably.

Finally, fulfilling the above condition of the reduction of ten years

from 689 A.H., it follows on the internal evidence that Khwājū was born
1290 A.D.

in 679 A.H. and died in 753 or 754 A.H.
1280 A.D. 1352 1354 A.D.

The multifarious activities of Khwājū have been discussed as far as the available materials could allow us to do. The salient features of his poetry have been already dealt with among the chapters on the Panegyrics, Lyrics, Romance, Miscellaneous Poems, and Mysticism, but let us put the finishing touch in this last chapter. We divide it into four sections. Khwājū as a (1) Poet, (2) Philosopher, (3) Traveller, and (4) Man.

1. As a Poet.

Definition of Verse. 'Ubaid Zākānī (b. , d.772/1371), a contemporary of Khwājū, gives a witty definition of a poet in his T'arīfāt. He says that the poet is (1) "a greedy coxcomb". His definition is the index of his mind. On the contrary, Khwājū says:-

(2) سخن چیت آبے چکیده زجان - کهر چیت خاکے رسیدہ زکان

What's verse? The drop of life that falls away.
What is a gem? The dust of the mine eye.

In another place he asserts:-

(3) دوش چون در جنبش آمد قلام سودا من - موج خوں براوج ز در چشم محیط آسائے من

The sea of my thoughts yesternight, when lashed in waves so high
The red tide of my sea-like eyes did rise up to the sky.

In the first couplet he calls poetry "the drop of life", and compares it to a pearl for its bright lustre; while in the second couplet, he declared poetry to be a "sea of thought".

'Ubaid Zākānī is a humourist pure and simple as is confirmed by his own definition. Khwājū is grave head and heart. This is proved by his exact estimation of poetry. He realized that the mental labour which a poet undergoes to produce verse is worthy of this name; hence he defined poetry as such.

He was the product of that period which after witnessing a great fall in poetry, was reviving to its former heights: so he gave his personal view of poetry as follows:-

(4) مرا از شاعری و شتر ننگ است - بحق و حرمت سبع المثانی

I am ashamed of verse, indeed,
I by the Seven Tenets swear.

He might have been correct in his own opinion as to the intrinsic value of poetry as far as to be ashamed of calling himself a poet, yet we differ from him and profess that Khwājū's immortality is mainly through his poetry.

The Reviver of Poetry. As a poet we have already discussed the matt-

A History of Persian Literature under Tatar Dominion by Prof. B. N. P. (1)
p. 252.

(2) جماد ہایوں ص ۲۸۶ (3) دیوان خواجہ ۴۸ Fol. (4) دیوان خواجہ ۶۸ Fol.

er of his inspiration and shown that he was not inspired at the sight of nature to compose verses, but rather he sat in his study, thought over the subject, and painted it like a painter. In this respect, indeed, we can say on his authority that he was his own rival as a painter and a poet. He conceived a subject, presented that vision before his mind's eye and drew the picture of the same with his pen so vividly as to charm the reader.

(1) بہ چشم آہوئے بید نظر کند مجنوں - گپے کہ بر سر خاکش چرا کند سباع

At Lailā's deer-like eyes doth Majnūn look,
When the wild animals graze round his grave.

Although it is an evident truth that he was more of an imitator than a stylist in each and every branch of poetry, yet at the time of his forgetting the idea of imitating his predecessors, he was simple in language, direct in expression and lucid in form. How beautifully do the following couplets exhibit his powers of diction as well:-

(2) اگر جو بر ما پسندی روا سنت - پسند تو مارا پسند یہ ۵ است
(3) دل ے نہم بہ بند تو گرے بری ایر - جان ے کسم فدائے تو گر میکنی قبول
(4) یادگار من دلخستہ مسکین باتو - آن دل شیفہ طالبیت نکوے دارش
(5) بہ کجائے رود آن فتنہ کہ برخاستہ است - کیست کیں فتنہ برخاستہ را بنشانہ

His manner of imitation is not to be condemned altogether, because he revived the dead spirit of poetry in all its branches along with the style of all his predecessors to their prestige and his own credit. He had so great a command, in this connection, over words that he deserves to be called the King of Words. He arranged then as he liked. For an instance, in order to wage a war of words, he was skilful enough to use "Turk", "sipāh", "Habsha", and "Khutan" to paint a scene of battle, thus:

(6) جو ترک من سپہ پیش برخیزن زند - از مشاب مسودہ سلسلہ برنسترن زند

Manner. His beauty of language has been even praised by Jāmī in his Bahāristān. He says (7) "Khawājū Kirmānī is also of Kirmān (peace be upon him). He controls great mastery in the array of words and beauty of language, hence he is entitled the Gardener of Poets." We reproduce some couplets to illustrate his array of words:-

(8) خون رعبان کہ شود کشتہ ز رعبان خواہند - راہ رہ بان کہ بود بردہ ز رعبان طلبند
بسان از سر میدان سر مردان جویند - بخندنگ از بن پیکان سر پیکان طلبند

Quite similar to this form of poetry, he was very fond of making puns on words:-

(9) اگر عمارت شداد شد بہشت بریں - ہیں کہ ہرچہ طرقتش بہشت و شد شداد
(10) براستان کہ غبار چو شخص خاکے خوش - زرہ گداز تو براستان نخے سینم
(11) بایمان کفر باشد باز ماندن - زایمان در گداز کیں ماں حجابست
(12) مردم از اندوہ داز کرمان نخے یام ظاہ - اسے عزیزان ہر کہ مرد اور از کرمان چارہ نیست

(1) دیوان خواہد ۱۴۵۳ Fol. 90 A. (2) دیوان خواہد ۱۱۱ Fol. 111. (3) دیوان خواہد ۱۹۹ A. (4) دیوان خواہد ۱۹۹ A. (5) دیوان خواہد ۱۹۳ A. (6) دیوان خواہد ۱۶۵ A. (7) خواہد کرمانی اور سیلوانست علیہ الرحمۃ در تزیین الفاظ و تحسین عبارات جہد بلیغ دارد و لہذا اورا بخندہ شعراے خوانند بہارستان ص ۱۰۶ سطر ۱۳ - ۱۴ مطبع منشی نوکشور کاشنور دکن ۱۹۱۱ء
(8) دیوان خواہد ۵۳۵ Fol. 535. (9) دیوان خواہد ۹۴۵ Fol. 945. (10) دیوان خواہد ۲۲۵ Fol. 225. (11) دیوان خواہد ۲۲۵ Fol. 225. (12) دیوان خواہد ۱۹۴ A. Fol. 194 A.

In this strain of beautiful language, he was well-versed in the art of using novel similes and queer metaphors, unthought of and untouched by any poet. This reflects upon his originality:-

Fol. 164 A دیوان خواجو چشم دارم که من خسته و ملوخته را - به نیم چشم گریه بار قلم یاد کند
Fol. 217 A دیوان خواجو خاتون بکر میبوش آتش لباس را - از ابر آنگون ز جانی نقاب بکین
Fol. 220 B دیوان خواجو چون بر قرقر شب عنبری نقاب اندخت - دل شکسته ما را در اضطراب انداخت

Besides, there is spontaneity and flow at his command which give a marvellous indication of his poetical gifts:-

خرامنده سروی برخ گلستانی - فرو زنده روی بلب دلستانی
بهشتی بر خسار و در صحرای - جهان بخوبی و در لطف جانی
نه جور بهشت از لطافت بهشتی - نه سرور وصال از لطافت روانی
ببالا بلند بی قوت قندی - بگسو گمندی با بر و کمائی
ز شکفتن بر غداش غبار - ز شعله سیه بر رخش طیلسانی
در آشفتن زلفش آشوب بهر - لبش در شکر خنده شور جهانی
بهنگام دل بردن آتش حادو - توانائی و خفته چون ناتوانی
چو هندی سر زلفش آتش نشین - چو کوثر لب لعلش آتش نشانی
سفر کرد و خواجو ز درد جدائی - فرو خواند بر دوستان داستانی
Fol. 148 A دیوان خواجو

To embellish his language and produce an excellent impression of his poetry, he is very fond of introducing Figures of Speech, proverbs, allusions, idioms and phrases for the recreation of his readers;

Figures of Speech:

حسن التعلیل = چرخ اگر در اعماق غلی بوشد گو بپوش - زانکه بر مرگ حسودت سگوائی بیش نیست دیوان خواجو
حسن التعلیل = هیچ دانی که چرا پیسته چنینی - زانکه گفته که بدان پیسته دهنی مانی دیوان خواجو
مقابلہ = چند خیزی که قیامت ز قیامت بر خاست - چه بود گر بنشین و بلا بفتانی دیوان خواجو
سیاق و سباق = به بیفت نظر و شش جہات و پنج حوال - بچار طبع و سه روح و دو کون دیک دادار دیوان خواجو

Proverbs:

همایون ص ۷ = ہر آنکس کہ چاہے کند برگزار - نخست او دران چاہ گیر و قرار
Fol. 172 A دیوان خواجو = مشق کہ رو نہ بے و معشوق خوش بود - زیرا کہ ناله دل از دور خوشتر است
188 B دیوان خواجو = ہر کہ بامنتق خواجو کند اظہار سخن - در بر یا برد و زیرہ بہ کرمان آرد

Allusions:

24 B دیوان خواجو = بہ خط بہر و سر زلف سیاہ و لب لعل - خضر و ظلمت و سر چہیم حیوان بودی
11 B دیوان خواجو = میان یوسف و یعقوب اگر حجاب بود - معین است کہ بنود بیرون ز ہیرا ہین
48 B دیوان خواجو = از نیم دیدہ و خون جگر فریاد است - ہر گل و لالہ کہ از سنگ بیرون مے آید

Idioms:

۱۸ A دیوان خواجو = فل در آتش نہادن = نعلم فکر نہادہ بر آتش کہ عنبر ست - و زطرہ طوق کردہ کہ از مشک چہر ست
4 A دیوان خواجو = چشم داشتن = چشم دارم کہ من خستہ و ملوختہ را - بہ نیم چشم گریہ بار قلم یاد کند
8 B دیوان خواجو = شمع کشتن = چو شمع مجلس ارمی کشتی شب بچراں - چو صبح پردہ بر افکن کہ پیش روی تویم
2۸ A دیوان خواجو = سپرا نکلدن = کر ز کمان اکبروت عقل بہر بقلندہ - عیب مکن کہ در جہاں کس نکند گمان تو
۸۸ A دیوان خواجو = استین افشاندن = گر بخوابی کہ چراغ دل منم میرد - آستین بر من دل شوختہ چند افشانی

Phrases:

۲۸ A دیوان خواجو = مردک چشم = مرا ز دیدہ میفکن کہ آب روی محیط - ز رفیق مردک چشم در تشار غمت
8 B دیوان خواجو = ترک گردن = تا بخون برو بند وی شہت در نیمروز - ترک گردن از دل و جان بندہ بندہ است
۱۸ A دیوان خواجو = عروسان چمن = در بہار ان کہ عروسان چمن جلوہ کنند - کیست کو را ہوس عیش و تماشا نکند

In this strain of beautiful language, he was well-versed in the art of using novel similes and queer metaphors, unthought of and untouched by any poet. This reflects upon his originality:-

Fol. 144 A دیوان خواجو چشم دارم که من خسته و دلخسته را - به نیم چشم گیر بار قلم یاد کند
 Fol. 217 A دیوان خواجو خاتون بکر میوش آتش لباس را - از ابر آبگون ز جانی نقاب کن
 Fol. 220 B دیوان خواجو چون بر قرقر شب عینری نقاب اندخت - دل شکست ما را در اضطراب انداخت

Besides, there is spontaneity and flow at his command which give a marvellous indication of his poetical gifts:-

خرامنده سروی برخ گلستانی - فرو زنده روی بلب دلستانی
 بهشتی بر خمار و در صحن جور - جهان بخوبی و در لطف جانی
 نه جور بهشت از لطافت بهشتی - نه سرور و از لطافت روانی
 به بالا بلندی بیا قوت قندی - بگسو گمندی با برو کمائی
 ز مشک فتن بر خوارش غبار - ز شکر سیه بر رخش طلیسانی
 در آشفتنی زلفش آشوب بهر - لبش در شکر خنده شور جهانی
 بهنگام دل بردن آتش جادو - توانائی و خفته چون ناتوانی
 چو هندی و سر زلفش آتش نشین - چو کوثر لب بعلش آتش نشانی
 سفر زرد و خواجو زرد در جبهائی - فرو خواند بر دوستان داستانی

Fol. 148 A دیوان خواجو

To embellish his language and produce an excellent impression of his poetry, he is very fond of introducing Figures of Speech, proverbs, allusions, idioms and phrases for the recreation of his readers;

Figures of Speech:

حسن التعلیل = چرخ اگر در اعاء نیلی پوشد گو بهوش - زانکه بر مرگ حدودت سوگوا می بیش نیست دیوان خواجو 4B
 حسن التعلیل = هیچ دانی که چرا ایستد چنیسے خندد - زانکه گفتیم که به او ایستد دهن مے مانی دیوان خواجو 11B
 مقابله = چند خیزی که قیامت ز قیامت برخاست - چه بود گر بنشین و بلا بفتانی دیوان خواجو 121B
 سیاق و سواد = به بیفت منتظر و شش جہات و پنج حوال - بچار طبع و سه روح و دو کون و یک دادار دیوان خواجو 6B

Proverbs:

بر آنکس که چاہے کند بر گزار - نخست او در آن چاہ گیر قرار ہما و ہمایوں ص 12
 مشنوخ کہ روضہ ہے مے و مشوق خوش بود - زیرا کہ نالہ دہل از دور خوشتر است دیوان خواجو 172 A
 ہر کہ با منطق خواجو کند اظہار سخن - در بر یا برد و زیرہ بہ کرمان آرد دیوان خواجو 188 B

Allusions:

بہ خط سبز و سر زلف سیاه و لب لعل - خضر و ظلمت و سر چشمہ حیوان بودی دیوان خواجو 29B
 میان یوسف و یعقوب اگر جواب بود - معین است کہ بنود بروں ز ہیرا ہن دیوان خواجو 31B
 از نیم دیدہ و خون جگر فریاد است - ہر گل دلالہ کہ از سنگ بروں مے آید دیوان خواجو 48B

Idioms:

فل در آتش نہاد = نعلیم فکر نہادہ ہر آتش کہ عنبرست - و زطرہ طوق کردہ کہ از مشک جنبرست دیوان خواجو 1A
 چشم داشتن = چشم دارم کہ من خستہ و دلخستہ را - بہ نیم چشم گیر بار قلم یاد کنید دیوان خواجو 4A
 شمع کشتن = چو شمع مجلس ارمی کشتی شب بچراں - چو صبح پردہ ہر افکن کہ پیش روی تویم دیوان خواجو 18B
 سپر انگندن = کز کمان البروت عقل سپر بنگندن - عیب مکن کہ در جہاں کس نگفتہ کمان تو دیوان خواجو 22A
 استین افشاندن = گر بخوابی کہ چراغ دل بگم میرد - آستین بر من دل شوختہ چند افشانی دیوان خواجو 7A

Phrases:

مرد یک چشم = مرا ز دیدہ میگوین کہ آب روی محیط - ز فیض مرد یک چشم در تشار غنست دیوان خواجو 2A
 ترک گردوں = تا بخون برو بندوی شہت در نیمروز - ترک گردوں از دل و جاں بندہ بندوی تست دیوان خواجو 3B
 مردسان چن = در ہزاراں کہ مردسان چن جلوہ کنند - کیست کو را ہوس عیش و تماشا نکنند دیوان خواجو 1A

۱۷۶
 دیوان خواجہ B ۱۵۵
 دیوان خواجہ A ۱۵۵
 Matter.

his becoming the master of the readers' minds. This undoubtedly falls to the lot of our poet, who carries the palm of victory among his contemporaries so as to exact the tribute of praise from the lips of Hāfiz even in these words:-

استاد غزل سعدی است پیش همه کس اما - دارد سخن حافظ طرزِ روشِ خواجو

Though Sa'di is the **Master** of the odes 'fore all men, but
The verse of Hāfiz has the style of the verse of Khwājū.

He ascends to heights of perfection in the subtleties of his thought

He is so subtle as to bewitch his readers thus:-

از پریشانیِ چو مویت در قفا افتاده ام - نیک بخت آن زلفِ صندوراکم هم زانوئے تست دیوان خواجو

اے کہ فرمائی کہ خواجو عشق را پوشیدہ دار - چوں توانم کرد چه دانم کاں لباسے فاخرست دیوان خواجو

رسم باشہ کہ بانگشت نمایند ہلال - ابروت چو قد من زان سبب انگشت نماست دیوان خواجو

خیالے گشتم از عشقش و لیکن - نذارم جز خیالش را ز دارے دیوان خواجو

پریشانست زلفت بچو عالم - مگر حال پریشانم شنیدہ است دیوان خواجو

قلم پوشیدہ ے رانم کہ اسرارم نہاں ماند - اگر چه آتش سوزاں بنے نتواں نہاں کردن دیوان خواجو

1. I like your hair have fallen back, due to confusion, aye,
The black lock is most fortunate that curls beside your cheek.
2. You say, "O Khwājū, hide your love", but pray,
How can this be? Love is a gala dress.
3. They point the crescent out with the finger, 'tis so,
Hence, like my size, your eye-brow fair has famous grown.
4. I am a thought because of her love, but
I have no confidant except your thought.
5. Your curly lock's disturbed like to my state,
Maybe my state of mind disturbed it heard.
6. I write by stealth so that my secret may be kept,
Although the burning fire can't be hid by a reed.

Peculiarities. We are quite right in saying under these conditions that Khwājū was a man of gigantic powers, with command over all the branches of poetry in their various forms; yet we have to admit at the same time that there are some peculiarities among his works. These are mainly due to his diffused energy for acquiring mastery over all kinds and forms of poetry in order to revive them. Some of these peculiarities are now discussed.

There is the repetition of the same rhyme which should never be expected from the hand of such a great poet:-

خون شد و مشک ختن از بید مشک - و آمدہ بستان ختن و بید مشک

روفتہ الانوار میرانی ص ۱۶

ہما ہمایون صفحہ ۳۳

چو روح و بدن در ہم آویختند - چو شہد و شکر در ہم آویختند

این چنین صورت کہ در آب و گل است - چوں بمغنی بنگری جان و دل است

نرگش خو نغز آرد پس دلریاست - سبزش شوریدہ پس بردل است

دیوان خواجو کبوتر تخلص لاشر

نہ پیشاں چو پاسے زشب درگذشت - زغون دل آبلش ز سر درگذشت ہما ہما یوں ص ۲۲
 حکم خواجہ از ان شکر ریزد - کہ نیست و زنی شکر ریزد کمال نامہ ۶۱. 718

Besides, he has ignored rhyme in some cases: for example:

چوں تو بجاين دلشدہ فرماں دہی - چوں نکنم ہرچہ تو فرمان دہی روضۃ الانوار طہرانی ص ۱۷
 نسب گوی از تجمہ ارد شیر - حسب گوئی افزوں تر از ترہ شیر ہما و ہمایوں ص ۱۱۰
 روز جزا دست بن و دامن - و آتش بید ادمن و خرمن روضۃ الانوار طہرانی ص ۶۱

Further, there are peculiar rhymes. In the following couplets, the reference is to *بادشاہی* in rhyme with *نوائ* - *آشنائی*; but 'bādshāhī' cannot rhyme with 'nawā'ī', 'gadā'ī', and 'ashnā'ī'.

ماںوایے خویش را در بے نوائی یافتیم - فخر بر شاہان عالم ہر گدائی یافتیم
 ز آشنا بگانہ گشتیم از جہان جان غریب - در جو ارقب جانان آشنائی یافتیم
 سالہا بانگ گدائی بر در دہلہ زدیم - لا جرم بر باد شاہان بادشاہی یافتیم
 دیوان خواجہ ۱۲۵ B

In the same manner, he says in the *Kamāl Nāmā*, 67a:

ملک در باز و پادشاہی کن - زید مفروش و پارساہی کن کمال نامہ ۶۷. 67a

Here, for bādshāhī's rhyme, he coins pārsāhī from pārsāi. Again he says:

حدیث شمع از ہر دانہ پیر سید - نشان گنج از دیرانہ پیر سید

ز خواجہ کوئے دہقانہ داند - ہماں بہتر کہ از ہیمان پیر سید
 Instead of *پیمانہ* he brings *پیمان*. This is a false rhyme. Fol. 222 B دیوان خواجہ

Moreover, he makes free use of unfamiliar words:-

اگر زانکہ گیرند یا رہے ہمو - و گر ہر ورزند بارے ہمو ہما و ہمایوں ص ۱۱۱

مے مشدم بوک آیدم در چٹک - نایم آید ز دست خویش بنگ کمال نامہ Fol. 65 A

امن او در اسیر گشتن اوست - خیر او ز ہر دین ہشتین اوست کمال نامہ Fol. 69 A

Not to speak of the words underlined above, he introduced archaic words among his odes after the style of Bābā Tāhir 'Uryān of Hamadān. This spirit was a regression rather than a progression in Persian Literature. We reproduce his poem of this style here. It can easily be seen how repugnant this regression must have been then, for it is even so now to public taste. Let alone the case of Bābā Tāhir whose language is polished and order systematic in the use of archaic words, Khwājū ought to have avoided this form of poetry for his odes seem poor in contrast to that of Bābā Tāhir with regard to its flow, fervour, and melody:-

دلکم برو بغارت ز برہم دلبر کے - سرفرو بردہ ہری پیکر کے از منظر کے
 نرگس ہندوک مشک او جادو کے - سنبل زنگیک بستک او کا فر کے
 تختک شورک از ان زلف شور انگور کے - سفش تنگ و شیریں لبکش شکر کے
 چشم از لعلک در پوشک او در پاشک - لیکن از منطککش ہر سخن گوہر کے
 دلکم شد سرب و چو موئے در تنگ - تاجہ ماند کنار زمین لاغر کے
 بردم عیب مگیرید کہ دیوانگیست - جگند نیست کہ ہر ش زہری پیکر کے
 قدم شد چو سرف زلف منوہر قو کے - رخک گشت چو زرد رخم سپیں ہر کے
 از تو اسے سرو قدکیت کہ ہر خواہد خورد - گرچہ از سرو فرماں خور دگس ہر کے

سرک اندر سرک عشق تو کردم لیکن - بامین خسته دلک نیست ترا خود سرک
 غمگنت می خورم و دست غمت غم خورم - هیچ گوئی که مرا بود گنج غم خورک
 خواجواز حلقه زلف تو شد حلقه بگوش - زانکه عیب نبود گر بودت چاکرک

دیوان خواجو ۱۶۴ A

با با طاهر
 دلا در عشق تو صد دفترستم - که صد دفتر ز کوشین از برستم
 منم آن بلبل گل ناشگفته - که آفر درقه خاکسترستم
 دلم سوجه ز غصه در بر پیشه - حفاے دوست را خواهم ترستم
 موآں عودم میان آتشستان - که این نه آسمانها مجرستم
 شد از نیل غم و ماتم ولم خون - بجزیره خوشتر از نیل و فرستم
 دریں الاله در کوش چو گلخن - بدایغ دل چوں سوزن افلکستم
 نه زورستم که با دشمن ستیزم - نه بهر دوستان بیم و زورستم
 ز دوران گر چه پر بے جام عشق - و نه بے دوست خونین ساغرستم
 جرم دایم دریں مرز و دین کشک - که مرغ خوشتر باغ و ترستم
 منم طاهر که از عشق نکو یابا - و نه کبریت خوش اندر برستم

۱۳۱

ص ۴۴ دیوان با با طاهر طبع دوم طهر

Moreover he oftentimes used those words which are not meet in poetry.

Their introduction in poetry made his style prosaic then, as the following

words show in the following lines:

- ۹۶ A دیوان خواجو کسے کراں سر زلف دوتا نئے ترسد - معین است که از اثر دیا نئے ترسد
 ۱۶۱ B دیوان خواجو از خضر نامه بلب چشمه حیات - گوئی محرواں بسکندر لؤ شسته اند
 ۱۳۹ B دیوان خواجو میان لیل و مجنون نه آن مواصلست - که الملاح براں اوفتد لمبیا نرا
 ۲۵۱ B دیوان خواجو ممکن ملاست خواجو که عاطلاں نکند - ز بیم حکم قضا اعراض برمتاں
 ۲۵۸ A دیوان خواجو رموز حالت مجذوب راجه کشف کند - کسے که او متعلق نشد لقلایے
 ۲۱۹ B دیوان خواجو چو روز نامه روے تو در قلم گیرند - محقق است که بر آفتاب بنویسند

This statement is supported along with others already made by the author of the Haft Iklim who says, "In his couplets he seeks for unfamiliar words everywhere." (1)

Not contented with this, he forms peculiar constructions. For example

- ۲۱ A خوشه چیناں زمیں روپ سرا پرده انس - همه در بندگی و بنده از ایشان محروم - دیوان خواجو (2)

Here he uses the word خاک زمیں while it is really خاک which he himself

uses thus: (3) دیوان خواجو مردم دیدر هند ووش دریائی را - خاک روپ سر کوئے قدم ادر کردیم

Fol. 133 A

He uses the same خاک روپ on another occasion:-

- ۱۳۵ B خاک روپان درت دم بدم از چشمه چشم - آب بر خاک سر کوئے توے افشانند - دیوان خواجو (4)

Further he forms دختر روز in opposition to the common phrase دختر شب; he says (5) عشرت خوشست خاصه در ایام نو بهار - لیکن بدود دختر انور خوشتر است دیوان خواجو ۱۷۲ A

(6) دختر روز را کنار میخان یکسو گرفت - پرده کنایه با برداشت خود بر روے گرفت

To crown all, he introduces a novel form of negative contrary to the

rules of grammar. We admit that he has every right to do so in his

position as being an authority in Persian Literature, yet these rules are

set by other authorities like him. To break them for the sake of rhyme

and metre is an indication of his own peculiarity. He says:-

- (۱) در اشعار خود ہم جائے تلاش الفاظ غیر متعارف کرده سبقت آعلیم ص ۷۷۸ سطر ۱۸
 (۶) دختر روز یعنی دختر تاک که گذشت و دختر تاک کنایه از شراب انگور و خوشه انگور - بهار نجم مطبع نامی منشوی لکشر و لکنتو ص ۱۹۱۴

180
ترا کہ میں ہمہ قول مخالف ست رواست۔ کہ یادے نکلی صیج لوبت از عشاق
دیوان خواجہ 134B
According to the rules of grammar, the construction of the negative is
as he himself says on another occasion:
دیوان خواجہ 224B
Finally, he uses unfamiliar spellings quite strangely for the sake of
rhyme:-

آں عبید شکواں بہر آمد از عید گاہ۔ تا بندہ رخ چو روز سفید از شب سیاہ
مانند بادے شد وے کردم بدم۔ در آبد یہ مردمک چشم من شناہ
من مہجو صبح چاک زدہ حبیب پرین۔ داورا چو آفتاب زد بیاے چہن قباہ
دیوان خواجہ 141B
He uses them as *شناہ* and *قباہ* at the cost of their familiar appearance of
شنا and *قبا*. He could have avoided using them in the rhyme of *گاہ*, *سیاہ*, etc.
et alone rhyme, he uses one of them at another place where rhyme is not con-
cerned:-

در بر قباہ شامی پیروزہ گوں چو ماہ۔ بر سر کلاہ شمع ز رکش چو آفتاب
دیوان خواجہ 58A
(31)
There is no doubt that Hāfiz greatly admired Khwājū as a poet, and we
have to remember this in our criticism, yet it is an evident fact also that
Hāfiz grew conscious of these peculiarities and weaknesses. Hence, he
avoided them and produced an unalloyed gold out of the crucible of his
genius in such a way that he stands high above all other poets in lyric
writing.

Like other poets of the East, Khwājū is liable to self-praise. He says
دیوان خواجہ 13
سخنم سحر حلال ست دے گاہ سخن۔ خجالت با بلیان از یہ بیضائے من است
دیوان خواجہ 13
چو چشمہ خضر از شہر من رواں افزا ست۔ عجب مدار کہ آن عین آب حیوان است
دیوان خواجہ 5B
مرغان خوش الحان چمن لال بہانند۔ چوں بلبل باغ سخنم نغمہ سر آید
My verse is the enchantment true at the time of my speech,
The men of Babel are ashamed of the white hand of mint.

As the fount of Khizar doth inspire the life through my sweet verse,
Don't take it strange, it is the water of life, verily.
The sweet-tongued warblers of the mead are ever dumb before
The philomel of my verse when it sings its melody.

Moreover he enjoys hyperbolic flights in no way less than other poets of the
East:-
دیوان خواجہ 134B
دیا چہ ابد کہ ازل مبنی است ازاں | بہرہ از بندگان آستین پوست قضا
چاکرے از چاکران آستان روبرو | چاکرے از چاکران آستان روبرو
The prologue of Eternity that ushers in Infinity
Is from the sacred Tablet of your mind that conquers all the world.

Fate is the servant 'mongst your slaves who are so coarsely clad,
And Destiny a slave among your slaves who sweep your door.
Will again he is apt to cry against the sky like other poets:
دیوان خواجہ 134B
چوں نغان من دلسوفتہ از گرد و نشت۔ مے رسانم ہمہ شب نالہ و فغاں بگردوں
When I the burnt do cry against the sky,

I make my cries reach the sky day and night.

These hyperbolic themes of self-praise and vindictive complaints against the sky do not add, indeed, to the beauty, charm, and fervour of poetry in Persian, yet as they are conventional, no one can venture to follow another course. Though we differ very strongly from ^{our} poet about such thoughts, yet we cannot help but admire his prophetic strain as to his death in a strange land; thus:

خواجه سفر عزم وطن کرد و لیکن - مرغی که برون شد ز قفس باز نیامد
دیوان خواجو ۱۱۶۹ R

From journey Khwājū did resolve to go to his birthplace,
The bird that came out of the cage did not return again.

He died at Shīrāz and did not return to Kirmān, how true!

Again, he says:

چون بمرم بره دوست مرا دفن کنید - تا چو بر من گذرد یاد کند یار قدیم
دیوان خواجو ۱۱۶۹ R

When I shall die, then bury me on the way of my friend,
So that what time he'll pass by me of the old friend thinks he.

By intimacy and friendship when I shall buried be,
I still will cherish a desire for friends' society.

Sa'id Nafīsī says, ⁽¹⁾ "His (Khwājū's) grave is in the mound of Allah—Akbar of Shīrāz. It verily denotes the same defile of Allah—Akbar on the way of Isfāhān to Shīrāz. It is the extremity of the meadow where the city is situated. It is the first place whence Shīrāz is seen". The situation of the "Mound of Allah—Akbar" is to be noted especially, which lies "on the way of Isfāhān to Shīrāz", and similarly the poet had versified in the above first couplet "barah-i-dost" (on the way of the friend). In the second couplet, his sepulchre at such a place "whence Shīrāz is seen" is an indication of his inclination for the association of his friends as an emblem of waiting to receive them.

Reply to Haider 'Alī. It is not inopportune now to give a reply to the remark of Haider 'Alī, as is quoted by ⁽²⁾ Dr Rieu and reproduced by Prof.

⁽³⁾ Browne as follows:-
میر در پیش شاعر نام خواجو - که او در دست از دیوان سعدی
چون تواند که با من شعر گوید - چرا گوید سخن در شان سعدی
خواجو در دیک کابل از شهر کرمان می رسد
مورسیت او در شاعری نزدیک سلیمان می رسد

Before a poet do not name Khwājū,
A plagiarist of Sa'di's works is he;
When he cannot compete with me in verse,
What can he say of Sa'di's dignity?

Khwājū is a thief of Kābul, from Kirmān cometh he,
In verse an ant, indeed, comes to Solomon verily.

(۱) مضع او در قل الله اکبر شراز است که واضحست مراد همان "مناک الله اکبر" بر سر راه اصفهان بخیر از دور است بهای جنگله ایست که واقع شده و ختین محلیست که شراز از آنجا دیده می شود - احوال منتخب اشعار خواجو ص ۲۸
(۲) Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the Brit. Museum Vol. II p. 623.
(۳) Browne as follows:-

As to the above charge of plagiarism, we scrutinize the poetry of Khwājū in the light of facts and try to compare it with that of Sa'dī. An unbiased comparison will inevitably serve to be the true opinion in the end. The comparison we undertake to do will depend upon manner and matter. First we take up the manner for examination:

Manner. We have stated at length in the above pages that Khwājū was more of an imitator than a stylist. He imitated all and followed none but Nizāmī in Romance only. He cultivated verbosity and euphemism, while Sa'dī upheld simplicity and originality. We reproduce both Sa'dī and Khwājū to illustrate their manner of writing as follows:

خواجه
 هر که مجنون نصبت از احوال بیله غافل است - و آنکه مجنون مرا بچشم عقل بیند عاقل است
 قرب صوری در طریق عشق بجه معنویت - عاشق ار معشوق را بے وصل بیند واصل است
 اهل معنی را از صورتش بزد فراق - و آنکه این صورتش بزد در معنی غافل است
 که بمنزل ره بری تا نگروری از خویش از آنک - ترک هستی در ره مستی نخستین منزل است
 گر چه من بدنامی از بے خانه حاصل کرده ام - هر که از میخانه منعم بے کند بے حاصل است
 این دل از با خویش داری رو بدلد از کسار - کانکه دلدار بے نذر در نذر دما در ارذل است
 یاد حاصل بے کند مستغرق در یاد عشق - لیکن این معنی نداند هر که او بر ساحل است
 عاشقان را و عظیم دانا عین نادانی بود - کانکه سر عشق را عالم نباشد جاہل است
 ترک جانان گیر خواجه یا برو جان برفشان - ترک جان سپیل است از جانان صوری شکل است

دیوان خواجه

سعدی
 دیدم از دیدار خویاں بر گرفتن شکل است - هر که مارا این نصبت میکند بے حاصل است
 باد زیبا کز بهارش وحشت از ابر دل است - بامداد او روئے او دیدن صبا بے حاصل است
 آنکه در چاه ز خندان دل بیجا رگال - چون ملک محبوب در زندان چاه باہل است
 پیش ازین دعوی هر سزگاری کردے - باز بے گویم که هر دعوی بے حاصل است
 دیر نزدیک خردمندان اگر چه قاتل است - چون ز دست دوست بگری شفا بے حاصل است
 من قدم بر و نه یارم نهاد از کوه دوست - دوستان معذور داریم که پایم در گل است
 باش دیوانه بخوانم همه فرز آنکاں - ترک جان نتوان گرفتن تا نگوئی شکل است
 آنکه میگوید نظر بر منظر خویاں مکن - او خود این صورت بے بیند ز معنی غافل است
 سارباں آینه راں آنکام جاں در محمل است - این شتر را با بر پشت است و عار ابر دل است
 گر بصد منزل فراق افتد میان ما و دوست - گو و صا شش در میان جان شری منزل است
 سعدی یا سپیل بے با کس گرفتن دوستی - لیکن چون پیوند شد خود باز کردن شکل است

نکته
 در این جاں نتوان گرفتن تا نگوئی شکل است
 بچشم عقل بیند عاقل است
 بچشم عقل بیند عاقل است
 بچشم عقل بیند عاقل است

Still again Sa'dī is very simple and easily comprehensible as regards "Kāfiya" (rhyme) and "radīf" (a word following rhyme), but Khwājū is complex and difficult to understand. Out of many poems of this kind, we reproduce the following for the sake of an example:

سعدی
 فتنه ام بر زلف و بالائے تو ای بدرمیز - قامت است آن یا قیامت غیر است آن یا بعیر
 گم شدم در راه سودا ره نما یا رونما - صبرم از پا اندر آمد دستگیر دستگیر
 گزینش خود برانی چوسک از مسجد مرا - سر ز حکمت بر بندارم چون مرید از حکیم میر
 ناوک فریادم بر ساعت از محراب بدل - بگذرد از رخ بخت همچو سوزن از حریر
 چون کنم کز دل خلیبا تم ز در نا کلب - چون کنم جان گزیرت کوز جانان ناگزیر
 بیتو گزور جنتم ناخوش شراب بلسیل - با تو کرد زخم خرم بود بے ز مبریر

مرغ و صلت گر پیر در سوائے بخت میں۔ وہ کہ آن ساعت ز شادی چار گر گرم چوتیر
تار و انم بہت نامت ہرزباں دام رواں۔ تا وجودم بہت خواہد بود نقشت در ضمیر
گر نیا بد فضل باران عنایت بر سرم۔ لایہ بر گردوں رساںم چون چہود اندر قیطر
بو العجب شورید ۱۵م سہوم بطاعت در گزار۔ سہمیں افتادہ ۱۵م جرم بر حمت در پندیر
آہ درد آلود سدی گر ز گردوں بگذرد۔ و تو کا فر دل نگیرد اے مسلماناں فیر

طیبت از علی شاد

خواجہ

بے دے گردل ز دبر بر نگیرد گو مگیر۔ عاشقے را اگر ملامت در نگیرد گو مگیر
گنزدست او دلم از پا در آید گو در اے۔ و ز پائے او سرم بر نگیرد گو مگیر
باد شاہے باگد اے گر سازد گو ساز۔ خود پرستی دست مستی گر نگیرد گو مگیر
آنکہ در ملک ملاحت کوں شاہی بے زند۔ گر گداے را بچیرے بر نگیرد گو مگیر
ہر کہ نتواند سر اندر پائے جاناں بافتن۔ گر حدیث خنجرش در سر نگیرد گو مگیر
وانکہ او در عالم معنی ز دبر دور نیست۔ گر بصورت دامن دبر نگیرد گو مگیر
بلبل بے دل کہے گل خار فارش بے کند۔ گر بہرک لالہ ۱۲م گر نگیرد گو مگیر
میر مارا اگر بخلوت با جوئے سرخوشت۔ گر جزیں مذہب وہے دیگر نگیرد گو مگیر
بے دے گر سر بشیدائی در آرد گو برار۔ کم رہے گر عقل را رہبر نگیرد گو مگیر
خواجہ آن ساعت کہ جاں بازاراں سر انداز کی کنند۔ گر تہی دستے بہرک بر نگیرد گو مگیر

دیوان خواجہ

Khwājū attempted romance and composed odes in archaic words, but Sa' dī did not even think of these at all. For archaism, we refer to page 178 and as to romance we allude to the quintet of Khwājū's. We have nothing to record of such a nature as these two literary activities in any of the works of Khwājū. An impartial mind can easily infer that Khwājū was not a plagiarist of Sa' dī in regard to manner of writing.

Matter. Sa' dī is a didactic poet as is accepted on all hands. He probes into the bright and the dark sides of life and gives his final decision as a judge for practical philosophy. Khwājū is a romantic poet, according to the popular view, but a mystic poet in our opinion. Though his poetry consists of different ideas, that is, love, Divinity, morality, and philosophy, yet Sūfī-ism is the potent factor and preponderant element in his verse, as has already been indicated in the chapter on Khwājū's Mysticism. Sa' dī is full of charm and fervour with a practical lesson for life, but Khwājū abounds in his yearnings, and lamentations, and the loss of his aims. The element of pessimism overrules all. He paints the dark side of life, as he himself says:-

دیوان خواجہ ۱۱۱۵ فہ

مہر سید از لگن سوز دل شمع۔ و گنہ پر سید از پروانہ ہر سید

Don't ask the plate about the earnings of the candle's heart,
If you desire to ask it then, pray ask the moth, of course.

Sa'di as a teacher of practical philosophy is bound to consider that man virtuous who visits the Ka'ba as a pilgrim, for he invites all to the pilgrimage thus:-
گر در طلبت رنجی مارا برسد شاید - چوں عشق حرم باشد سهل است بیا بیا بنها ص ۷ طیبات (کلیات)

If in your search we bear much grief, it is legitimate,
The plains are trodden easily, if the Ka'ba we love.

In contrast to him Khwājū takes another view of pilgrimage and calls that man a heretic who is in the Ka'ba, under a certain condition indeed, but still he differs from Sa'di thus:-

زاهد مغرور اگر در کعبه باشد فاجر است - و آنکه اقرارش بعبث رویا نباشد کافر است دیوان خواجو
If in the Ka'ba there may be a proud priest, he is curst,
Who does not like the pretty-faced, he is an heretic.

Again, Sa'di teaches patience as a moralist by condemning impatient people:

قیمت عشق نداند قدم صدق ندارد - سست عهدی که تحمل نکند بار جفا ص ۷ طیبات (کلیات)
He knoweth not the price of love; he keepeth not the pace of Truth,
Who breaks the pledge and does not bear the load of love with patience aye.

Khwājū refutes him quite interestingly thus:-

بصبری نتوان جستن ازین دیو خلاص - ز آنکه نافع نبود صبر چو دل صابر نیست دیوان خواجو
With patience I can never search for freedom from this pain,
There is no use in patience when the mind is patient not.

Let alone these differences of opinion, we reproduce an ode of each poet to show that there is the difference of poles between them in respect of matter:-

دو چشم سست میگوینش بر برد آرام هشیاراں - دو خواب آلود بر بودند عقل از دست بیداراں
نصحت گوئی را از من بگو ای خواب دم در کشی - که سیل از سرگذشت آنرا که می فرسای از باران
گمراں ساقی که مستان راست هشیاراں بدیدید - ز توبه توبه کردند چون بردست هشیاراں
گرم با صاحبان بے دوست فردا در بهشت آرند - بهماں بهتر که در دوزخ برندم با گنہگاراں
چوبوسیت آنکه عقل از سر برد آرام و صبر از دل - ندانم باغ فردوس است یا با نار عطاراں
تو بایں مردم کوته نظر در چاه کنفانی - بمهر آتاپدید آیند یوسف را خیریداراں
گر آں عیار شیر آشوب روزی حالین برسد - بگو خوابش نمی گیرد لبش از دست عیاراں
گرت بارے گذر باشد نظر مزاجان پاکن - نیند ارم که بد باشد جزاے خوب کرداراں
کساں گویند چوں سعدی حفا دیدی تحمل کن - رها کن تا بمیرم بر سر کوئے وفاداراں ص ۹۳ و ۹۴ طیبات (کلیات)

Her wine-besotted eyes have made the wise men restless all,
Two sleepy ones did rob the wit of the awake, withal.
Say to the counsellor from me, "O master do not speak",
The flood has immersed him whom you alarmed of the rainfall.
If all the cautious ones would see the mad ones' cupbearer,
They would repent of penitence like me 'fore the saints all;
If with the saints without my friend they'll on the Judgment-Day
Take me to Heaven; then Hell is good with the doomed ones withal.
What's that scent which took off wit from my head and rest from heart.

ن ۱۱ اے باد شبگیری بگو آغا محبس را - تو آزادی و خلقی در غم رویت گزشتاں

I do not know 'tis Paradise or 'tis the druggists' mall.
 You're in the wall of Palestine with all the foolish ones,
 To Egypt come, the customers for Joseph will come all.
 If that shrewd one doth ask of me one day who stirs the town,
 Say to her, "He can't sleep at night", thro' the shrewd ones withal.
 If any time you hap to pass, pray cast a glance at me,
 I don't conceive an ill reward to the good-doers fall.
 The people say, "O Sa'di when you are injured, be calm,"
 Leave me to die in the lane of the faithful ones withal.

خواجہ

جو چشم خفته بکشدوی بستی چشم بیداران - چو طاب طرہ بنودی بپردی آب طراران
 ترا بر آتشک چون باران من گر خندے آید - عجب بنود کہ در بستان بخندد غنچه از باران
 جو فریاد گرفتاران بگوشتے رسد ہر شب - چہ باشد گر رسی روزے بفریاد گرفتاران
 طبیب ار بندت در خواب کز رخ پردہ برداری - ز شوق چشم رنجورت بگردیش بیماران
 الاثنی شیعہ دلسوزان چراغ مجلس افروزان - بحیثیت ماہ نامہ رویاں بطلعت شاہ عیاران
 بقدر ویرا فرازان برخ صبح سحر خیزان - بخط شام سپہ روزان بکنار نقل میخواران
 ز ما گر خردہ آمد بزرگی کن و زان بگذر - کہ آن بہتر کہ ہر مستان بخشاہینہ ہشتیاران
 ز ادب بکرم طفے و رے آن نئے باشد - کہ ذیل عفوے پوشند ہر جرم گنہ کاران
 کسے حال شیم داند کہ چوں من روز گرداند - تو خفته مست باشاہ چہ دانی حال بیداران
 بقول دشمن ار پیچم عنان از دوست بے دینم - کہ ترک دوستی کفرست در دین وفاداران
 بگواے پیر فرزانه کہ شاگردان میخانہ - بروں آرند خواجہ را بہوش از کوئے خماران

You oped your sleepy eyes and shut the wakeful ones eyes all,
 You showed your locks and carried off the shrewd one's grace withal.
 If you are smiling at my tears that drop down like the rain,
 'Tis not strange in the vale a bud doth smile at the rainfall.
 When every night the captives' cries do reach your ears my dear,
 It matters not if any day you help your captives all.
 A physician if he dream of your unveiled face at night,
 For your so drowsy eyes 'fore the sick ones doth lifeless fall.
 O wick of the burnt-hearted ones, the lamp 'mongst the fair throng,
 In face the monarch of all sweets, the beauties' Moon withal,
 The cypress-sized among the great, the early-risers' morn,
 The morsel sweet of toppers, her downs the doomed ones' nightfall,
 If I have made a mistake, pray, forgive it and forget,
 For the mad ones are forgiven by the wise persons all.
 The masters of generosity do nothing else but this,
 The mantle of their forgiveness doth o'er the sinners fall.
 He knows my state at night on whom the days dawns like to me,
 You senseless sleep beside the sweet, don't know the wakeful all.
 I am a heretic, if I turn back as the foe says;
 To give up friendship is a sin, the true ones it so call.
 O aged sage, say kindly so, the tavern's servants may
 Bring Khwājū on their shoulders from the toppers' lane withal.

Placing this evidence before us, it can be easily decided that the remarks
 of Haider 'Alī were placed on personal grudge only; otherwise there is no
 truth in them at all. It is because of this fact that our readers will
 excuse Khwājū if he wrote some bitter retorts by way of satire in order that
 he might pay such malicious critics in the same coin.

Mirror of Poetry. We have a mirror to reflect the poetry of Sa' dī,
 Khwājū, Hafiz, and Salmān for the interest of our readers; they may make
 an impartial and independent opinion for or against the attack of Haider 'Alī.

(غزل) شیخ سعدی علیہ الرحمۃ

وقتے دل سودائی میرفت بہ بتانہا - عیش و طرب آوردے بر لاله وریحانہا
 کہ لغزہ زوے بلبل کہ جانہ دریدے گل - تا یاد تو افتادم از یاد میرفت آنہا
 اے مہر تو در دلہا دے مہر تو بر لبہا - وے سوز تو در سر ہا وے ہر تو در جانہا
 تا عہدے تو در بستم عہدے ہمیشہ گسستم - بعد از تو روا باشد نقص ہمہ پیمانہا
 تا خار غم عشقت آویختہ در دامن - کوتہ نظری باشد رفتن بگلستانہا
 آن را کہ جنس در دے از پائے در اندازد - باید کہ فرو شود دست از ہمہ در مانہا
 مگر در طلبت رنجے مارا بر سر شد شاید - چون عشق حرم باشد سہل است بیایانہا
 ہر تیر کہ در کیش است گو بردل ریش آید - مانیز کیے باشیم از جلدے قریبانہا
 ہر کو نظرے دارد بایار کمان ابرو - باید کہ سپر باشد پیش ہمہ بیکانہا
 گویند مگو سعدی چندین سخن از عشقش - میگویم و بعد از من گویند بد و راہا

طیبات سعدی از بیست و نوبت

(غزل) خواجہ خواجہ کرمانی علیہ الرحمۃ

آن مالہ پری رخ را در خانہ نئے بینم - ویں طرفہ کہ بے رویش کا شانہ نئے بینم
 بینم دو جہان موئے از حلقہ گیسویش - و ز گیسوئے او موئے در شانہ نئے بینم
 گنجبست کہ جز جانش ویرانہ نئے یا بزم - شمعبست کہ جز عقلش پروانہ نئے بینم
 از خویش ز بخیویشی بگمانہ شدم بیکن - جز خویش در ان حضرت بگمانہ نئے بینم
 ہر چند کہ جانانہ در ویدہ ما باز آید - تا دیدہ نئے دوزم جانانہ نئے بینم
 چون دانہ بیند مرغ از دام شود غافل - من در رہ او دایے جز دانہ نئے بینم
 چند آنکہ بر کردم چون اشک درین دیوا - جز اشک درین دریا در دانہ نئے بینم
 ایست کہ مجھو نہرا دیوانہ ہمہ عاقل - ورنے من مجھو نش دیوانہ نئے بینم
 تخفیف کن از دورم ساقی دوسہ پیمانہ - کز غایت سرمستی پیمانہ نئے بینم
 لغزش بجے خواجو خود را کہ دریں معنی - جز پیر معال کس را فرزانہ نئے بینم

دیوان خواجہ

(غزل) خواجہ حافظ علیہ الرحمۃ

اے پادشہ جو باں داد از غم تنہائی - دل بے تو بجاں آمد وقت ست کہ باز آئی
 اے درج تو ام درمان در ستر ناکامی - وے یاد تو ام مونس در گوشہ تنہائی
 مشتاقی و مہجوری دور از تو چنانم کرد - کز دست بخوابد شد پایاں ملکبائی
 دائم گل ایں بستان شاداب نئے ماند - در باب ضعیفاں را در وقت تو انائی
 صد باد صبا ایں جا بے سلسلے قصند - ایست حریف اے دل تا باد یہ پیمائی
 در دائرہ قسمت ما نقطہ ہر کاریم - لطف آنچہ تو اندیشی حکم آنچہ تو فرمائی
 فکر خود و رائے خود در عالم رندی نیست - کفرست درین مذہب خود بینی و خود رائی
 یارب بیکہ بتواں گفت ایں کلمتہ کہ در عالم - رضا رہ بکس ننمود آن شاہد ہر جائی
 دیشب گلے زلفت با باد صبا گفتم - گفتا غلطی بگذر زین فکرست سودائی
 ساقی چمن گل را بے روئے تو رنگے نیست - شمعنا دخر اماں کن تا باغ بیارائی
 زین دائرہ مینا خوین جگر مے دہ - تا حل کنم ایں شکل زین ساغر مینائی
 حافظ شب بچراں شد بوئے خوش صبح آمد - شادیت مبارکبا دایے عاشق شیدائی

دیوان حافظ مرمر

(غزل) سلمان علیہ الرحمۃ

اے چمن سر زلفت ما دایے دل سلمان - ما دایے ہمہ دلہا چہ جائے دل سلمان
 گر عشق تو با سلمان زین شیوہ کند آخر - اے دایے دل سلمان اے دایے دل سلمان
 از رو و لب ما را ہم گلشکرے فرما - زیرا کہ ہر جگہ شدت سوداے دل سلمان
 جان و خرد و دینم بر بود لب بعلت - آنروز کہے کردی یغماے دل سلمان
 زلفت مبرا اندازی در بافت بے سرا - یارب سیر اندازش در پائے دل سلمان
 ہر طرف خلقے سرگشتہ جو سلمانند - لیکن تو کجے گیری جز پائے دل سلمان

طیبات سعدی از بیست و نوبت

فشنه ام بر زلف و بالای تو ای بد منیر - قامت ست آن یا قیامت عنبر است آن یا عنبر
گم شدم در راه سودا ره نما یا عنبر - صبرم از پا اندر آمد دستگیر دستگیر
گر ز پیش خود برانی چون سنگ از مسجد مرا - سر زلفت بر بندارم چو مرید از حکم میر
ناله فریاد من بر ساعت از جوی دل - بگذرد از رخ هفتجیم سوزن از حریر
چون کنم کز دل خجسته نام زد بر ناخکب - چون کنم جان گزیر است کز جانان ناگزیر
بے تو گرد در چشم نافوش شراب بلیس - با تو گرد در دوزخم خرم هوای زهر میر
مرغ وصلت گر سپرد در هوای بخت من - حکم آن ساعت رشادی چار پر گردم چو تیر
تا روانم بست نامت بر زبان دام روان - تا وجودم هست خواب بود نقشت در ضمیر
گر بنابر فصل باران عنایت بر سرم - لایب بر گردن رسام چون جیوه اندر قطیر
بود عجب شوریده ام بهر جنت و گنار - سببش افتاده ام جرم بجاغت مدخیر
آه درد آلود می گردی گز گردن بگذرد - و تو کافر دل نگیرد ای مسلمانان نفیر

شیخ مددی علیه الرحمۃ
میت ۶۲

فتاده ام من دیوانه در غم تو امیر - بیا و طره بر افشان که بشکنم زنجیر
بر آید از قلمم بوی مشک تقار - اگر بوصف خطت شمع کنم تحریر
چه خواهی بریشان که دیر ام بیک - معبرم بهر موی تو می کند تعبیر
چنین که باز گزینی قدم ز پریش من - زبان خامه ازین دل شکسته باز مگیر
اگر چنانکه تو دانی جدا شدن ز نظر - گمان مبر که توانی شدن بر زون زخمیر
ز بوسه تنای نعیم گزیر نیست و لیک - زدوستان قدیم نه ممکنست گزیر
حکایت دل از آن رو کنم بدیده سواد - که در عشق فزون آید از زبان دبیر
اگر بنامه کنم وصف آه و زار غل - بر آید از سر کلکم هزار ناله زیر
کنند حکایت بجز تو یک بیک خواجو - بخون دیده گر بنده یک بیک تقریر

ن در اصل بر دی

دیوان خواجو ۱۰۸۵ و ۱۰۸۶

جہاں جان بفرستی بحسن عالم گیر - جہاں چه باشد و جان چیست هر چه خواهی گیر
ترا هزار امیرند در کمنه دوزلف - مرا مرا و یک گیر از آن هزار امیر
اگر هیچ نگیری تو صید را چه کند - گرفت بر طرف تست نیست بر نخیر
دل من از سر زلفت نمی رود جلت - کجا رود دل دیوانه پای در زنجیر
نشاط عشق تو ام و زینت بر دل من - طلاق نیست فرو رفتن چو شکر یا شیر
تو بادشاهی و من بنده قوی عاجز - تو آفتابی و من ذره عظیم حیر
بہیج طعنہ نخواستیم گشتن از تو نفور - بہیج زخم نخواستیم کردن از تو نفیر
مرا از روح خلیب است و نیست از تو خلیب - مرا از غر گزیر است و نیست از تو گزیر
خندنگ غمزه است از جان گذشت سلمان - بنور سبت بر سر دل نشاندے تیر

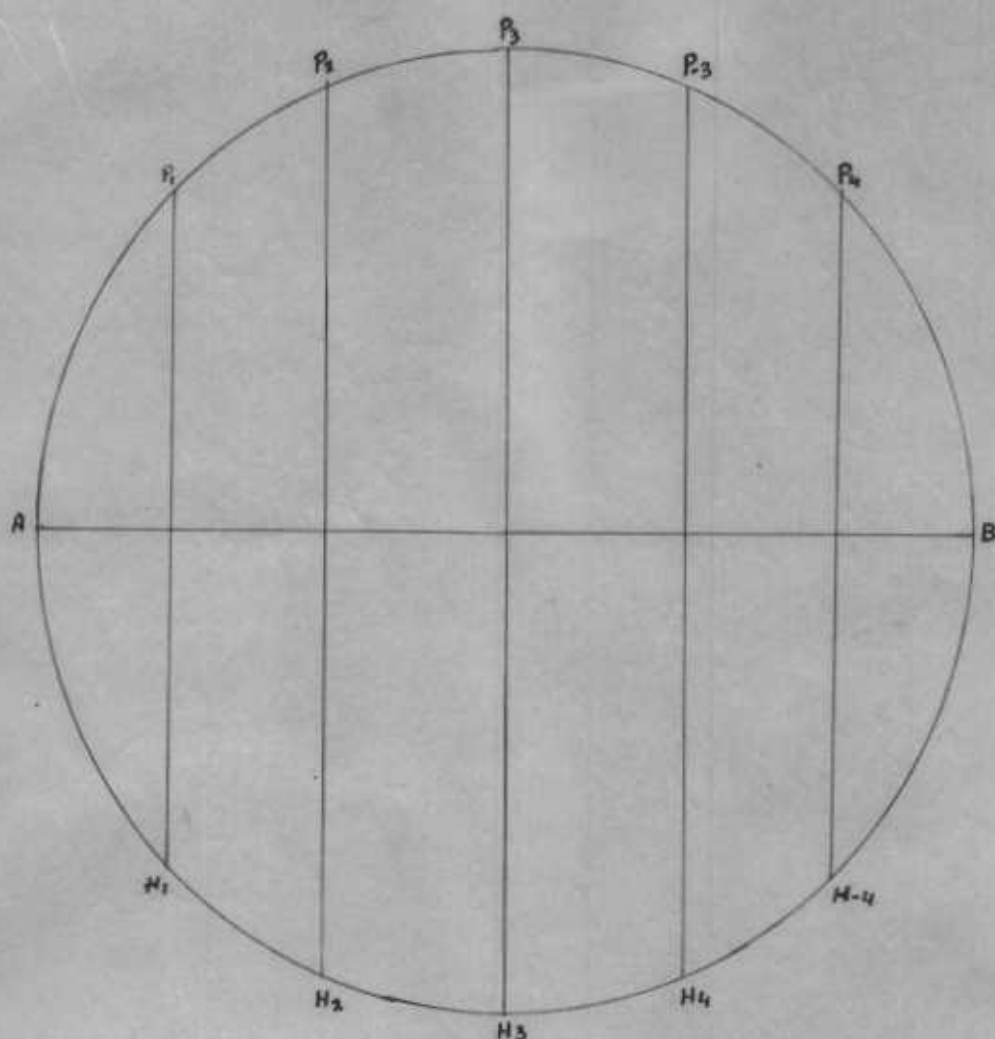
کلیات سلمان ساوجی ص ۱۹۱ بمبئی

نصیحت کفایت بشنو و بپا نہ مگیر - ہر آنچه نامح شفق بگویدت بند میر
ز وصل روی جوانان متعلق بردار - کہ در کیننگہ عمر ست مگر عالم سپر
نعیم ہر دو جہاں پیش عاشقان بخوے - کہ این متاع قلیل ست و آن ہوائے حیر
معاشرے خوش و روم ساز میجویم - کہ درد خویش بگویم بنا نہ ہم وزیر
بر آن سرم کہ منو شمع و گنہ نگنم - اگر موافق تدبیر من شود نقدیر
دل رمیدہ مارا کہ پیش میگیرد - خبر دہید بہ مجنون تبستہ در زنجیر
چو قسمت ازلی بے حضور ما کردند - گرانہ کے نہ بوفقی رصاست خوردہ تیر
بدریم تو بہ نہادم قلع زلف صدار - ولے کر شمع ساقی نمی کند تقصیر
چو لالہ در قہم ریز ساقیائے ناب - کہ نقش خال نگارم غیر و در ضمیر

ن خستہ از

مے دو سالہ دمجوب ہر چارہ سالہ - ہمیں بس است مرا حجت صفر و کبیر
نکفت کہ حذر کن ز زلف او ای دل - کہ می کنند در آن حلقہ باد در زنجیر
بیا رسا غریا قوت و فیض در خوشاب - حدود گو کرم آصف بے بین و بکیر
بنوش بادہ و عزم وصال جاناں کن - سخن شنو کہ زلفت زبام عرش صفر
حدیث تو بہ دریں بزم مگہ مگو واعظ - کہ ساقیان کمان ابروت زنند بہ تیر
چہ جائے گفتہ خواجو و شمسلمان ست - کہ شعر حافظ شیراز بہ زشتی طہیر

دیوان خواجو حافظ علیہ الرحمۃ ص ۹۹



Seasons change as the days go by. Spring raises our spirits with its Pleasure and winter depresses us through its Power. Pleasure's sister is Poetry and Power's mate History. The former flourishes in times of comfort, and the latter advances in days of conquest.

To illustrate our point about the revival of Poetry through Khwājū graphically, let us draw a line A B which represents Persia. It is not to be considered a straight line, though it appears to be so in the same manner as the globe is like a ball but seems to be flat. Similarly, our graph will show that the line A B after indicating many a rise and fall in respect of Poetry and History like the line of the circumference will revert to its source to form a circle, illustrating thereby the revival of Poetry in all its branches.

Although from the days of the Medes, poetry appeared through Gathas, and History through the cuneiform writings of Darius, yet in its real sense for the scientific study of Persian Literature, Poetry and History happened to come off in the Sāmānīd Rule (874-999 A.D.). Rūdagi carried Poetry up to P1 in Pleasure, and Bala'mī translated Tabarī's History into Persian and the conquest by the same Dynasty dragged all down to H1. In the Ghaznavīd Rule (998-1044 A.D.), Poetry reached P2 through Firdausī and

History H2 through 'Utbi's Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī. At last Poetry and its sister Pleasure reached their climax of P3 through Anvarī in the Seljūk Period (1044-1194 A.D.) (1), and through Rashīd-ud-Dīn Vatvāt in the period of its rival Khwarazm Shah's House (1077-1221 A.D.) (2).
 (1219-27 A.D.) (3)
 Chingīz Khān/ caused its downfall and dragged it down through Power and its mate conquest to H3, its anticlimax. Poetry decayed to P3 in this period but conquest and Power progressed more and more to point H4 under Hulāgū Khān (1255-65 A.D.) (4). The shackles of Power were broken after Hulāgū Khān and in the days of his Muslim descendents already referred to in Chapter II Pleasure once again ruled the land. Poetry revived to reach P4 in the days of Khwājū and History fell to H4. We have been witnessing here the rise and fall of Poetry and History like tides which taken "at the flood lead on to Fortune"⁽⁵⁾. Till, as we have hinted above, our poet carries us back involuntarily to the point P1 by virtue of writing Romance, lyrics, and panegyrics, and reviving the Vāmīk and 'Agrā, the lyrics and Kasīdās of Rūdāgī, imitating more or less Nizāmī in his romantic pursuits, the Sām-Nāmah as the Epic verse of Firdausī, the panegyrical themes like those of Anvarī, and Khākānī, satirical outbursts similar to Suzanī, archaic words in odes after the model of Bābā Tāhīr, and mystical lore imitating Farīd-ud-Dīn 'Attār and others of the same school. By his attempting all the Schools of Poetry, Khwājū especially through archaic words carries us back from P4 to P1 and makes the circle of Poetry complete like the line of the circumference at B, and declares himself to be thus a Reviver of Poetry with a preponderant element of mysticism in his works, as we have seen already from his own words.

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- (1) An Introductory History of Persian Literature by Joel W. Lal, P118.
 (2) An Introductory History of Persian Literature by Joel W. Lal, P.118.
 (3) A Literary History of Persian from Firdausī to Sa'dī, by Prof. Browne, P.445.
 (4) A Literary History of Persian from Firdausī to Sa'dī, by Prof. Browne, P.445.
 (5) Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, Act IV, Scene 3 line 218.

It has been pointed out already that Khwājū's view of life was ever dark. He considered the world full of miseries. This conception of life led him to the conviction of the nothingness of the world. He says:

فول ۳۰۱ B دیوان خواجو
 Here in this world I have received not anything but grief
 Why should I worry myself then, if nothing I have got?

He found a scarcity of pleasure in it; as he says:

۲۱ ہمد ہمایوں ص ۲۱ کہ آہنا کہ ہر طرب ساقی - ہر طرب ہم ہر دہا خستہ
 ۱۳ ہمد ہمایوں ص ۱۳ فراغت دہ از ملکات عالم - بغم مشاگردان دل ہر غم
 Those who prepared the sumptuous feast at last,
 Did not enjoy it but left it so fast.

From this world's kingdom make me ever free,
 Make my sad heart then glad with grief that be.

and abundance of sorrow. He took sorrow as the source of recreation.

He revelled in it. He was too scrupulous to suffer a moment's deprivation from it. He derives matter for grief from the burning candle which

is a source of pleasure to the common eye. He says:
 فول ۳۳۸ دیوان خواجو
 Bravo! The wick like to Majnūn because of the heart's fire
 Burnt itself all in the dark night in wish for Lailā's face.

In this attitude of his mind, as a compensation to his grief, he found out his source of pleasure thus:-

۳۳۸ دیوان خواجو
 Set up your heart on failure if you like to win your aim,
 Get rid of secrecy, if you desire the drunk one's glee.

His idea of despair, according to him, will give an impulse to work. Labour is its own reward. It ended in pleasure in this way that he did his duty; otherwise, he is of the opinion that ignorance is a blessing in disguise:-

۳۳۸ دیوان خواجو
 مرا تو فاضل و دانشمندان کہ در عالم - سعادتی نشنیدم و راست نادانی

Don't call me wise and learned as throughout the world,
 I heard about no blessing but this ignorance.

We have discussed to some extent already his philosophic views, yet in contrast to the importance of the subject under discussion, it is advisable to dwell upon this subject in the light of Greek Philosophy as he ever admires it in this way:

۳۱۸ A دیوان خواجو
 حکم و حکمت بکہ دادند در سر رہ خواجو - بگذر از حکم اگر حکمت یونان بآید
 Whom did they give, O Khwājū, here authority, philosophy?
 Give up authority, if you want the philosophy of Greece.

In order to bring home to our readers' minds the validity of this fact, we divide the subject into the following headings:-

Ethics. Khwājū says in one place:-

۳۱۸ A دیوان خواجو
 من کہ چون سرو از بہاں بیکبارہ آزاد آمدم - دامنم چون نرگس از سر زرباشد گومباش

I like the cypress have been born free ever in this world
Like narcissus my skirt's not full of gold, it matters not.

In the above couplet, our poet as a freeman does not care for poverty.

To the same effect, we read in the Nichomachean Ethics of Aristotle, page 80, "Poverty, perhaps, we ought not fear, nor disease, nor generally those things that are not the result of vice, and do not depend upon ourselves."

Again, on another occasion, Khwājū says:-

شہید است و غازی بفتوئے عشق - چو شد گشته خواجو بمیدان او
Fol. 308 B دیوان خواجو

He's the crusader and martyr by the Love's decree,
When Khwājū has been murdered in the battle-field of love.

Our poet compares love to a battle-field wherein, as a true and happy warrior, he courts death fearlessly. This attitude of his is the same as expressed by Aristotle in the Nichomachean Ethics, page 81, "The term courageous, then, in the strict sense, will be applied to him who fearlessly faces an honourable death and all sudden emergencies which involve death; and such emergencies mostly occur in war."

Further, at another time, Khwājū says:-

بیاد هر دم بر افکن که هست خواجو را - شکیب کم ز کم و اشتیاق بیش از بیش
دیوان خواجو

Unveil yourself for Khwājū hath, my dear,
Love more and more and patience less and less.

Here our poet describes his mixed feelings which are perfectly natural in love, because love can develop only at that time, while patience at every moment grows less. How beautifully doth Aristotle explain the same idea in the Nichomachean Ethics, page 59, "In applying the terms voluntary and involuntary,....., we must consider the state of the agent's mind at the time. Now, he wills the act at the time; for the cause which sets the limbs going lies in the agent in such cases and where the cause lies in the agent, it rests with him to do or not to do."

Such acts, then, are voluntary, though in themselves (or apart from the qualifying circumstances) we may allow them to be involuntary; for no one would choose anything of this kind on its ^{own} account."

Metaphysics. Khwājū says on one occasion:

ز منی نیستم فانی بهر صورت که می بینم - بصورت نیستم مائل بهر منی که می دانم
Fol. 308 B دیوان خواجو

I ne'er refrain from drawing truth from whate'er form I see,
I am inclined not to the form, from which the Truth I know.

In this couplet, our poet sees the form, finds the Truth in it, disregards the form and sticks to the Truth alone. In brief, his philosophy is based upon the search for the Truth and Aristotle says in the Metaphysics, Book a, 993 b, 20. "It is right also that philosophy should be called knowledge of the truth."

Khwājū says again at another time:

192
Fol. 137A مرد صاحب نظر آنست که در عالم معنی - دیده بگشاید و از ره بنظر باز نماید دیوان خواجه

He is the master of the sight in the sphere of reality,
Who keepeth his eyes open e'er, through vision doth not leave the path.

Our poet in this couplet lays stress on the principle of progress after surmounting the difficulties. Parallel to this idea we read in the *Metaphysica* of Aristotle, Book A.2, 982b, "For it is owing to their wonder that men both now begin and at first began to philosophize; they wondered originally at the obvious difficulties, then advanced little by little and stated difficulties about the greater matters, e.g. about the phenomena of the moon and those of the sun and of the stars, and about the genesis of the universe."

Further, Khwājū says:-

01. 121A خلق ز غناغم بفتانند و لیکن - این طرفه که می نالم و پیوسته خوستم دیوان خواجه

Due to my cries the people all do cry,
'Tis strange, I cry and ever silent am.

Here in the couplet, Khwājū explains the theory of contraries and at the same time, he is wonderstruck to confess his cries and silence in spite of their being present together. It is nothing short of what we read from Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, Book A.5, 986b, "We can learn this much, that the contraries are the principles of things;.... But how these principles can be brought together under the causes we have named has not been clearly and articulately stated by them."

Transcendentalism. On one occasion, Khwājū says:

126A هر که باشد با ساکنان عالم علوی تفرین - گو بیا در عالم جان جان عالم را ببین دیوان خواجه

Who puts up near the inmates of the lofty atmosphere,
Say unto him, "Come and see the world's soul in your soul here".

In the above couplet, our poet means to derive pure knowledge from the soul and nothing short of what Plato says in the *Phaedo*, page 205, "If we would have pure knowledge of anything, we must be quit of the body - the soul in herself must behold things in themselves: and then we shall attain the wisdom ^{which} we desire, and of which we say that we are lovers; not while we live, but after death."

Again, he says:

138A جانم چو رو به خیمه روحانیان نهاد - تن را درین حظیره سفلی بماند و رفت دیوان خواجه

When my pure soul set its face towards the pure spirit's tent,
It cast the body in the walls that are below and went.

Khwājū in this couplet, neglects the body altogether for the light of truth. This is the same as is said by Plato in the *Phaedo* page 206, "And thus having got rid of the foolishness of the body we shall be pure and hold converse with the pure, and know of ourselves the clear light everywhere,

which is no other than the light of truth. For the impure are not permitted to approach the pure."

Moreover, Khwājū says:

ما شیشه خود بینی و هستی نه شکستم - یک جرعه از مے لعلش نجیدم
دیوان خواجہ ۱۱۶ B

As long as we did not break up the glass of pride and life,
We could not even drink a draught from His red liquor a'en.

In order to attain purity of soul, Khwājū gets rid of his body, self-conceit and its other impurities. Quite similar to this, Plato says in the Phaedo, page 206, "and the true philosophers, and they only, are ever seeking to release the soul."

Further, Khwājū says:-

گر غمت کرد از من خاکی بر آرد گوهر آرد - چون تو هستی گر ز من آتار نبود گوشت مباحش
دیوان خواجہ ۱۱۸ B

If your grief hath turned me to dust, let it turn me to dust;
When you should ever living be, let there be not my trace.

In the above couplet Khwājū does not do anything but desire to court death, and Plato says in the Phaedo, page, 199, "Then he, or any man who has the spirit of philosophy, will be willing to die."

Still further, Khwājū says:

کامم این بود که جان بر تو فشانم - عاقبت کام من خسته بر آمد
دیوان خواجہ ۱۲۰ B

It was my aim to sacrifice my life,
The aim of this wreck was won in the end.

In the above couplet, Khwājū again courts death and in the words of Plato, Phaedo, page 202, "The life which philosophers desire is in reality death."

Furthermore, Khwājū says:

توت جان از خون دل ساز و ز عالم گوشه گیر - زانکه مردان سالها در گوشه پنهان خون خورده اند -
دیوان خواجہ

Get food of the blood of the heart and leave the world and all
As men for years have fed themselves in corners on the blood.

Here Khwājū rejects the world and its luxuries and consumes himself in that spirit which is described by Plato, Phaedo, page 203, "I should say that the true philosopher would despise them" (the concerns of the body).

Finally, Khwājū has been proved to be a mystic on the strength of abundant internal evidence and Plato gives the verdict in his favour as a philosopher, in the Phaedo, page 209, thus "for 'many', as they are in the mysteries, 'are ^{the} thyrsus-bearers, but few are the mystics', - meaning, as I interpret the words, 'the true philosophers'."

As a philosopher, he belonged to the school of Al-Ishrākiyūn, "the adherents of the Hikmat al-Ishrāk or Mushrikīya" in the words of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, No. 18, Vol. 2, Part I, page 533.

Following the principles of this school, he says:-

چه غم ز بزر مسافت چو قرب جانی هست - نظر بیار بودنی بقرب و بغیر دیار
دیوان خواجہ ۱۲۸

Ne'er mind the distance of space here, when the soul is close by
The town, though, may be far or near, the eye is to the Friend.

In the above couplet, our poet claims to possess knowledge as a mystic irrespective of space, and we read in the same article of Al-Ishrākiyūn thus, "It is a spiritualistic philosophy with a mystical theory of knowledge."

Again, he says:-

روى ز کاشانهء کُل تا فتم - ره سرا پردهء دل یا فتم
روفته الاوار ص ۹۸

I from the earthly place turned my face eye,
To the heart's canopy I found my way.

In this couplet he quite distinctly claims to be an adherent of the doctrine of revelation and we read thus in the above article, "From the beginning to the present day, this philosophy of revelation has influenced Muslim philosophy to a great extent."

Let alone the principles of philosophy of Al-Ishrākiyūn, historical evidence proves Khwājū to be an adherent to this school of thought. It is based on the fact of his having been an ardent disciple of the philosophy of Plato as quoted above so many times already. Notwithstanding in praise of a patron, he pours forth so beautifully thus:-

چشم مبین و مه عید بهایون بادت - مکتب بو علی و حکیم فلاطون بادت
دیوان ذابو ص ۹۹

The 'Id Moon and the happy feast may blessed fall so true,
Avicenna's wit, Plato's instinct e'er may be for you.

In this couplet he shows his exemplary devotion of a pupil to his master Plato so far so as to remember him even in his prayers and "Plato more than Aristotle (at least the genuine one)" is regarded as particular authorities for this doctrine" in the words of the Encyclopaedia of Islam.

3 As a Traveller.

We have already stated that Khwājū was not inspired to write poetry at the sight of Nature. He worked as a painter in his study and produced his poem like pictures. If at any time he was inspired he was no doubt inspired for travelling. He says to this effect:-

خیز خواجه که گل از غنچه بروی آید - بلبله ییون تو کنون صیف بود در قفسه
دیوان ذابو ص ۱۰۰

Stand up Khwājū the flower smiles out of the bud,
Alas! A philomel like you is in the cage.

He gives as the cause of his travels nothing else but the study of Nature.

Under this impression, he portrays the scenery of evening how beautifully:-

شبه زنگ سر برزد از راه شام - در افتادش این باز شتر قی بدام
بها و بهایون ص ۱۰۴

From Syria the Habasha's king came,
The Eastern hawk fell in the net a game.

Due to his passion for travelling, we have on record in his own words ample proof of his journeys:-

شد سوخته از آتش دوری تو ذابو - این قصهء دلسوز بکیر مان که رساند
دیوان ذابو ص ۱۰۸
مرا هر آئینه لازم بود جلا وطن - چرا که مصلحت کار بیدلان سفر است
دیوان ذابو ص ۱۰۹

(1) = Instinct, p. 1237, The Students' Arabic-English Dictionary by F. Stringass, Ph.D., Crossby Lockwood & Son, London, 1884.

سفر کرد و خواجو زرد در جدائی - فرد خواند بر دوستان داستانے دیوان خواجو ۱۱۴۸

Due to your separation's fire poor Khwājū's heart is burnt
The tale that burns the heart, who will convey it to Kirmān?

For me exile is doomed to be, it is so verily,
The welfare of the heartless is to travel now and then.

The pain of separation led Khwājū to travel on,
In this respect, he told the tale to all his friends again.

All these couplets written at different intervals and in a varied strain
bear evidence to the fact of their composition in a strange land. Similarly,
we reproduce the couplets that throw light upon the various places
which he visited.

۱۱۴۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۴۸ بے تو بگر در عراق ار چه بے گرد بیم - راست اکنون ز سپاهان به حجاز آمده ایم

۱۱۵۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۵۸ اشک خواجو دامن دریا زان گیرد که ما - از وطن با چشم گریاں رو به دریا کرده ایم

۱۱۵۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۵۸ (چو فلک از راه حجازم براند - دور مخالف به عراقم رسانید

۱۱۵۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۵۸ روضه الانوار ص ۷۷ طبرانی گه ز عرب نوئے عجم تا ختن - گه به عجم ساز عرب ساختن

۱۱۶۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۶۸ خواجو کنار دجله بغداد جنتیست - لیکن میان خطه تبریز خوشتر است

۱۱۶۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۶۸ کنون که فصل بهار را رسید و موسم گل - خوشا لوا حیی یزد و نسیم ابر سخا

۱۱۶۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۶۸ با که اگر صفت کنم از شوق کازرون - آه از دل شکسته نالاں بر آورد

I roamed without thee round 'Irāk for long,
From Isfāhān now straight to the Hedjaz.

The tears of Khwājū make the friend's skirt wet, because
I left my land with tears and went ~~near~~ o'er to the sea.

Out of the Hedjaz the sky turned me when,
The adverse time led me to 'Irāk then.
Now from Arabia to Persia,
Then from Persia to Arabia.

O Khwājū, the Baghdād-Tigris bank is like Paradise,
But the tract of Tabriz, indeed, is better than that place.

Now the spring-time and the tide of the flowers have set it,
How sweet the suburb of Yazd and the breeze of Ahristān!

If to the mountain I relate my love tale for Kāzrūn,
It heaves a heavy sigh out of the heart that cries aloud.

During his travels, he never felt disgusted. As he was never a
stay-at-home, so he was never home-sick. These are his own words, which
indicate that he enjoyed travelling:-

۱۱۶۸ دیوان خواجو ۱۱۶۸ بهر دیار که دور از تو می کنم منزل - نه اے عشق تو بهم از آن دیار می شنوم

The place where'er I may put up away from you, my dear,
From that place I do ever hear the loud cry of your love.

He was attracted to come to his native place on account of family ties
and other worldly relationships, indeed. He says in his own words to this

and. 196
خواجه به کام دوستان سوئے وطن باز آمدی - اے دوستان از آمدن سوئے وطن باز آمدم دیوان خواجو

O Khwājū for the sake of friends you come back to your land.
O friend! I do refuse to come to my birthplace again.

But the last hemistich reveals the secret of some disgust, which made him uncomfortable at his birthplace. He is happy to depart again:-

خوش آئی روز که از خطہ کرباں بروم - دل و جان داده زدست از پے جاناں بروم دیوان خواجو
That day is good when I leave Kirmān clear,
I lose my life and follow my love dear.

To remove our suspicion of any personal disgust, he has made his position quite clear by giving the cause of undertaking journeys often:

رخانہ هیچ نغیرد سفر گرین خواجو - کہ شمع دل بنشانہ آنکہ در وطن بہ نشست دیوان خواجو
'Tis of no use to sit at home, O Khwājū, travel on,
Because the heart's wick is put out of one who stays at home.

He was happy to leave his home and hearth and illuminate the candle of his mind as a beacon-light to grope in the darkness of travelling.

We admire his adventurous spirit, but he did not record the experiences of his travels like Nāṣir Khusrau 'Alavī, who left his precious Safar-nāmā. If he did not versify them, he could have written them in prose like Nāṣir Khusrau, as Sa'id Naṣīrī says that he attempted prose as well. (1)

Still, again, how excellent would it have been, had he recorded his adventures like Shaikh Sa'dī in the production of the Gulistān and the Bustān. Even in his travels, he leaves mundane philosophy and rises, as a mystic, to the heights of transcendentalism. He says:-

من کہ کل از بانج فلک چیدہ ام - چار حد ملک و ملک دیدہ ام روضۃ الانوار ص ۹۷ طبرانی
روئے زمین را زردہ ام پشت پایے - ساختہ بردیدہ سیارہ جائے روضۃ الانوار ص ۹۸ طبرانی
I picked the flowers from the heaven's garden, ayē,
And saw the four sides of each land away;
I spurned the surface of the earth, you know,
I made my place on the stars' eyes, 'tis so.

4. As a Man.

Born in the house of a noble family of Kirmān in 679 A.H., Khwājū was left an orphan. He was brought up under the protection of his mother, who took a keen interest in his studies. Khwājū made the best use of all the facilities afforded to him for acquiring knowledge, as a dutiful son and an obedient pupil, till, by the grace of Allāh, he carved a niche in the Temple of Fame for himself.

According to his own words, he was tall in size, weak in body, and pale in colour:

نوں شد قد صحیحون الفم بے تو ولیکن - ہر حال پریشانے من زلف تو دال است دیوان خواجو
مرا از لوح حروف ایں دو حرف موجود است - دل شکستہ جو جسم و قد خمیدہ جولاام دیوان خواجو
دیو ستہ زخم دارم زان روئے درخروشیم - ہموارہ زار و زرم زیں ساں کہ نا تو ام دیوان خواجو

My size without you has been bent down to 'nūn' from 'alif', but

در کتابخانہ آغا علی حاج حسین آقا ملک در طهران از جہد نفایس دیگر کتب بسیار نفیس از کتبیت خواجو بہت کہ از جہد کتب آن یکجہ در رسالہ است
کہ بہر اسطہ بہت زمان موضوع آنرا فراہم فرمودہ ام خواجو کہانی از موعیدہ نفیسی صفحہ ۶۶

Your flowing locks do bear a proof to my own state confused.

Two letters of the alphabet I from the tablet know,
The broken heart's like 'jim', and the bent size like 'lām' doth fall

The wounds I have received, so I do cry always;
I helpless am and pale, because I am grown weak.

He professes to be hunch-backed. This is due to the fact that he was tall in size in his youth; otherwise, a man of middle or short size, naturally, could never bend in old age. "Nātivān" (weak) and "zard" (pale), he calls himself. As has been stated above, he fell a victim to disease many times, and his fair complexion was turned pale.

He seemed to be sad and serious in appearance, but in his own mode was happy at heart. Had he been sad at heart, he would have been dull like all dejected and sad men. On account of his inner happiness of heart, he had an ear for music. He says:-

۱۳۲ B ورد محرم ز مرز مہ و نغمہ جنگ است - و آہنگ مناجات من آواز رباب است دیوان خواجو
At morn I do enjoy the sweet song of the lyre,
The rebeck's carol is the cry of my prayer.

Still again, in his own propensity, he found the bright side of life out of the dark one thus, and indicated quite clearly that he was happy at heart:-

۱۳۳ B اے دل مباش تیرہ کہ جانم ز تیرگی - بچوں خضر بخشیم حیوان رسیدہ باز دیوان خواجو
O mind don't gloomy be because my soul from darksome place
Had reached again like to Khizar the fountain sweet of life.

Further, he had a sound mind to think deeply at the sight of that landscape of Nature, which, quite uninviting to the naked eye, was revealing the book of life to him:-

۱۳۴ A, ۱۳۵ B بہتان اگرچہ جائے نشاط است و قری - ختم شود درد کہ ز دوران روزگار دیوان خواجو
هر سنبلیله ز زلف نگار است لاله رخ - هر لاله ز خون جوانیست شہر یار

Although the orchard is the place of happiness and mirth
Do not be glad, because, due to the ups and downs of time;
Each hyacinth an emblem is of the braid of a sweet,
Each tulip red a symbol is of the blood of a prince.

He had cultivated coolness in his advanced age in place of the rashness of youth: He says:

۴۹۱ B توسن طبع را عنان در کش - کہ روانی بہ تیر بازی نیست دیوان خواجو
Curb then the bridle of your nature's steed,
For galloping is not at all through speed.

Although serenity and seriousness had been ingrained in his character, yet humour made it appearance in his life sometimes, as it is the ingredient of a man's nature.

روم بخدمت یزید جہاں حضرت شاہ - کہ تا از آن بیت بہیاد اگر بخوابم داد دیوان خواجو کہیو تخلص لائبریری
He says:
۴۹۲ A

I'll go to His Majesty's court, the monarch of the world,
So that I justice may demand 'gainst that tyrant sweetheart.

He writes so humourously as to fondle with his beloved by breaking all the traditions of gravity, patience, and serenity. As he was a silent man by nature given to deep thinking in his own words,

Fol. ۱۲۲B دیوان خواجو اگر جو تیغ نباشی زبان دراز - عالم شود مسخر تیغ زبان تو

O Khwājū, if you will not be sharp-tongued like to the sword,
How will the world be ever won by the sword of your speech?

so he did not flash as a humourist like 'Ubaid Zākānī. But his keen intelligence and deep thinking stood him in good stead to be quick-witted enough to give a curt reply at the required moment:-

۱۹۱A دیوان خواجو دوستان عیب کنندم چون برآرم دم عشق - عودا اگر دم نزنه خامه معطر نشود

When I take out the breath of love, my friends find fault with me,
If aloes emit not their scent, the house is ne'er perfumed.

How beautiful is the retort in a nutshell of Khwājū to the criticism of his friends on the spur of the moment with the illustration of aloes!

He was regular and punctual, given to hard work and diligence in his own words:-

۲۸A دیوان خواجو امشب از دست مده وقت وز فردا بگذر - که شب تیره سودا زده را فردا نیست

Don't give up this night from your hand, think not of the next day,
Because the black and maddened night the next day has not got.

He worked hard at the cost of his health even:-

Fol. ۲۲۹B دیوان خواجو اگر خواهی که خود را بر سر آری - بیا یزد بختی دست و پائی

If you desire that you should yourself rise,
Devote yourself to work incessantly.

The best incentive to work was the Divine discontent which he ever felt like a thirsty man for water, as is seen in the following:

۱۹۸A دیوان خواجو گر به انائی دلم اقرار نارد گو میار - دردیں کارش غم از انکار بنود گو مباحش

If my mind do not own my wit, let it confess that not;
In its denial if there is no grief, let it **not** be .

Though a great man, he was quite unassuming in character:-

عنه بدانش مشو ارعاقلی - دانش مفرد بود جابلی روضۃ الانوار ص ۹۲ طهرانی

Do not be proud of wit if you are wise,
The proud man's wisdom is sheer foolishness.

He inculcated the habit of self-denial which was the secret of his success.

He says:-

۲۲۹B دیوان خواجو هیچ کس با تو زمانه برادر دل خویش - نه نشیند مگر از خویش جدا بنشیند

No one with you doth win the aim of his own life,
As long as he doth not deny himself at all.

He was not elated with success, rather he was humble in nature.

۹۵B دیوان خواجو خواجو چه عجب باشد ارت کس نشناسد - مقامان جهانند ارگه ارا نشناسند

۳۱۱B دیوان خواجو خواجو اگر چه بنشیند ز دست تو - پائے ملخ نه نزد سیمان که نه برد

O Khwājū it doth matter not, if no one knoweth you,
The monarchs who sway o'er the world, know not the beggar aye.

Although, O Khwājū, you cannot do much,
Who doth take the ant's leg to Solomon?

In the second couplet, humility had eradicated pride from his conduct,

hence he introduces personally the comparison of the "ant's leg", and

"Solomon", but he was impatient in poverty as we see in his own words:

شنیده ام که ز زر کارها چو زر گردد - مرا چو زربنود چاره ناله وزارت
دیوان خواجہ ۸۵
I heard that gold can change works into gold;
I own it not; its remedy's to cry.

and sought for its redress in the contentment of spirituality:

قناعت من خستہ را کہ محصول است - ز فیض عالم علوی غذائے روحانی
دیوان خواجہ ۸۵
Contentment is that which I do receive
My soul's food by the heaven's sanctity.

Really he never indulged in luxury. He never wasted his time in vain pursuits. Being quite unconscious of his goodness, he became good. His virtue, mostly, lay in non-violence, as he was a man of peaceful character. He was even bitterly against injuring anybody's feelings:-

سنگ بر کودکان نباید زد - ہر کرا آگینہ باشد ہمار
دیوان خواجہ ۳۵
کہ گر خواہید کردن صید مردم - بہ ترکی مردی آزاری بگوئید
دیوان خواجہ ۲۱۲
That one must not bestone the boys
Who bears the burden of the glass.

.....
If you desire to be the captor of mankind,
You must give up then violence 'gainst all.

Even in this position of an exemplary character, he had his enemies who criticised him mercilessly in public:

ما و گرد در دہن خلق فتادیم و سیک - چارہ بنود زرا اگر در دہن کار آید
دیوان خواجہ ۸۹
If we among the tongues of men have fallen down again,
How can it be gold must not fall before the scissors' tongue?

This is an evident proof of his greatness, for a man of low position is ignored by all. His greatness, still, lies in this reply.

بہ چشم عیب در خواجہ بینید - چوے دانید کینش سر نوشت است
دیوان خواجہ ۱۵۹
Do not look at Khwājū with the eyes of defect,
When you know that in his lot it is written so.

Due to the ups and downs of the times, every one falls a victim to adverse conditions. He being hypersensitive gave vent to his personal afflictions for his self-consolation during the period of helplessness:-

تیر باران بلار من میکنم سپرم - دانکہ شد غرقہ نباشد خبر از بارانش
دیوان خواجہ ۱۸۹
جز نالہ کسم مونس و دمساز نیاید - جز سایہ کسم و ہمراز نیاید
دیوان خواجہ ۱۶۸
I am to the volleys of the arrows a shield,
One who is immersed doth not know of rain at all.

.....
There is no friend and confidant except my own loud cries,
No one is my companion and friend without my shade.

As a great man he was ever expected to bear the brunt of life, yet his mind was disturbed among the hard days. Placed under the same conditions, we see Anvarī falls a victim to the same defect in a worse condition thus:

ہر بلا کے کز آسمان آید - گر صبر و تکیہ قضا باشد
کلیات انوری ص ۸۱
ہر زمین نارسیہ مے گوید - خانہ انوری کجا باشد
Each calamity that cometh from the sky,
Although 'tis destined for another person here;

200

Before doth reach the earth below then ever says,
"Where is the dwelling of Anvarī far or near?"

Entangled in such circumstances, our poet says:-

ما اگر پیرانه سر در بندگی افتاده ایم - همچو سرد آزادی در نوجوانی یافتیم
دیوان خواجو 1848
If we are rapt in devotion in our grey hairs,
We found out liberty like the cypress in youth.

That is, he sought refuge in contemplation and devotion in the trials of his life. He called himself a free lance in youth in its mystic sense and even at the last stage of his life, due to meditation, he was mostly inclined to the dervishes. He says:-

خواجه برد به چشم تامل نگاه کن - در اهل دل که گوشه عزلت گزیده اند
دیوان خواجو 1848
Go Khwājū and look with the eyes of mind at those
Who are the masters of their minds and have retired.

This attraction of their society got the better of his mind to such an extent as to extract this couplet from him

گر چه همچو قطب کردون در تجرد ثابتم - دختران نفس را در چهار مذہب شمرم
دیوان خواجو 1848
Tho' like the pole star of the sky in seclusion I'm firm,
I'm the consort of the "Bināt-un-Nash" 'mongst the four sects.

On the perusal of this couplet, we get to know that he was a recluse at heart in the garb of a worldly wiseman. Had he been a recluse even in his old age as some of his biographers assert him to have been, then he would have been an utter failure as a man. Aristotle says in the Nichomachean Ethics, page 37 line 26, "So, too, the man who takes his fill of any kind of pleasure, and abstains from none, is a profligate, but the man who shuns all (like him whom we call a "boor") is devoid of sensibility."

He lived as a layman, yet he was aloof from the world, not attached to any one but Allāh and the saints in whom he saw the light of Allāh.

He says:-
دیوان خواجو 1848
Like Khwājū I, in good or bad, with no one had concern,
If I had my concern with one, I had it then with Him.

On the other hand, it is a hard fact of his life that he did not leave the world till his last days in the court of Abu Ishāq of Shīrāz, where he died in 753 or 754 A.H.
1352 1353 A.D.

At the same time we know already that he married a lady of a noble family and proved to be a loving husband, as is evinced from his handling of the character of Hūmā. He had a son and he was a kind father indeed, as has already been proved in the end of the chapter on his marriage from the writings of Khwājū himself. We reproduce another couplet to throw light upon this fact:-

اے صبا حال جگر گوشہ ما چیست بگو - در دل آن در خورشید لقا چیست بگو
دیوان خواجو 1458

O zephyr, how doth the piece of my own heart fare?
Say what is in the heart of that Sun-faced moon there?

The phrase "jigar gosha" is never applicable to any person but our poet's own 'son'. This stands as a concrete proof of his love for him.

Nevertheless, he was a true friend and he entertained a high opinion of friendship. He says:-

تینج ہجر دوستاں ہر دم کہے آید بیاد - میزند تیغ از سیاست موے بر اعضائے من
حاصل از عمر گرامی جو ہیں یکنفس است - اگر تہم نفسے بہت غنیمت دانش
دیوان خواجہ ۱۵

When I remember the sword of my friend's separation,
By way of punishment my hair strikes the sword on my limbs.

When there is but this one moment the outcome of your life,
If you possess a friend sincere, then take it as a gift.

As a protegee of many patrons, he served the time so well as not to incur the displeasure of any ruler. He was cautious and careful enough to move along with the times as a worldly-wiseman. This feature of his character has been fully dealt with in the chapter on his Panegyrics on the authority of several couplets of his. Moreover, in the capacity of his being a great humanist, the study of the human mind stood him in good stead while he steered his boat clear through the eddies of the courts. While he moved in that high society, he read the dangers and the afflictions of the crown and said:

ہر کراہشت و خشم کم نیست - چون بینی غم و بلا بیش است
دیوان خواجہ ۴۹B

He whose pomp and wealth is no way small,
His grief and plague's not less than that, you see.

and, in the case of his falling a victim to periodical adversities, he read the miseries of the commonplace layman and advised all to extend a helping and sympathetic hand to them, thus:

ز دل یکبار کار افتادہ را - چو دستتے دہد بردار بارے
دیوان خواجہ ۱۱۲A

Help soon a man who falleth down
If you can share his trouble aye.

It was expected of him to attend the poor and, indeed, he fathomed their feelings through his deep study of the human mind. He says:-

ترا کہ بر سر سنجاب خفته چه خبر - کہ شب چگونہ بروز آورند بیداراں
از مغیلاں چگونہ اندیشند - ہر کہ سازد نہالے از سنجاب
دیوان خواجہ ۲۳۳B

You sleep on ermine, know it not
How on the sleepless dawns the day?

Acacia-thorns knows not he
Whose carpet is of ermine made.

This vast knowledge of humanity had led him to the conclusion that all are unhappy in the world for he says:-

در جہاں مردے نمی بینم کہ از و روے جداست - یک طربناک است برگردوں و آن ہم مرد نیست
دیوان خواجہ ۱۸۸B

I in the world do not see a man who is free from pain,
One in the heaven is happy, but He is not a man.

As a man of great personal experience, he touched the right string

when he announced social service on one side

خدمتِ مومنین اور ملکِ سلیمان خواہی - راہِ سلمان رو اگر طلعِ سلمیٰ طلبی دیوانِ خواجہ ۱۸۰۸

Do serve an ant, if you require the king Solomon's realm,
If you desire Salma's bright face, walk on then Salma's way.

and denounced attachment to the worldly allurements on the other:-

بر حسنِ مکن تکیہ کہ دورانِ لطافت - با کسے نمی ماند و کس باتو نماند دیوانِ خواجہ ۱۸۲۵

Do not depend on Beauty for the times of excellence-
Do not reside with anyone and no one stays with you.

In other words, he set the best example of rejecting detachment to man-kind and Nature which is hatred and attachment to them which is passion; but he took the golden mean of love as his mission for inculcating lessons of the Science of Conduct in life.

As we have already mentioned above, his inclination, if it was on any side, was towards the Derveshes. It is due to this fact of his life that he disclaimed his own identity and became the disciple of a religious leader:-

جان من از مرشد دین نور یافت - جنتِ دینم ز امین حور یافت روضۃ الانوار ص ۹۱ طبرانی

My soul from the sect's guide with light bright grew,
My faith's heav'n won the houri from the true.

His allegiance to the religious director was based on his aspiration for purification of soul, as he was in the know of his drawbacks. He says:

دفعِ خواجہ ز گنہ پاک نیست - و ز نظر عفو بود پاک نیست روضۃ الانوار ص ۹۴ طبرانی

Khawājū's record from sin is never free,
There is no fear, if pardon for him be.

Otherwise, he was faithful believer in Allāh and the Holy Prophet (may the choicest blessings of Allāh be upon him) and his miracles. He says:

کوس وحدت بزن کہ در بے عشق - تختِ منصورے ز بندہ افر دار دیوانِ خواجہ ۵۸

و محمد را نغے دادی نزد در شقی ماه - هجده ماه چارده کارش کجا گشته تمام دیوانِ خواجہ ۵۹

Beat Unity's drum in the path of love,
For Mansūr's throne is carved out of the cross.

Hadst Thou not helped Muhammad so in splitting of the Moon,
How would his work have been complete like to the Full Moon e'er?

Our poet belonged to the Shī'a school of thought like the greatest poet of the East, Firdausī, the author of the Shāhnāmah. This is supported by Khawājū's own words just as Firdausī writes of himself in the Shāhnāmah. In order to corroborate this statement, it suits our purpose well to quote the couplets of the Shāhnāmah first. They run as follows:

منم بنده اہل بیت و نبی - ستاینده خاکِ پاستی

خود آں روز نامم گیتی مباد - کہ من نامِ حیدر دارم بیاد

بریں زادم و ہم بریں بگذرم - چنان دان کہ خاکِ پی حیدر شام شاہنامہ جلد اول ص ۱۱ طبرانی

The Seer and his scion's slave I'm eye,

203

Ali's feet-dust, I praise alway.
 My name in the world may not be,
 If I miss the name of Ali.
 I was born such, may I die so,
 At Haidar's feet, yea, I'm dust low.

On the perusal of these couplets every one has inferred that Firdausi was a Shī'a; because, he mentions "Nabī" (the Holy Prophet, the choicest blessings of Allāh be upon him) and "Vasī" (Ali, ^{his holiness} may Allāh be pleased with him), only and he does not praise ^{their holinesses} Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uṣmān (May Allah be pleased with them). As a Shī'a prefers ^{his holiness} 'Alī (may Allāh be pleased with him) to ^{their holinesses} Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uṣmān (may Allāh be pleased with them), by virtue of the right of ascension to the Caliphate after the ^{Holy} Prophet (may the choicest blessings of Allāh be upon him).

Now keeping in view the works of Khwājū, we come across many panegyrics in praise of ^{his holiness} 'Alī (may Allāh be pleased with him). If the question is raised that a panegyric written in the praise of ^{his holiness} 'Alī (may Allah be pleased with him) cannot prove the fact of his being a Shī'a, as it is not a criterion of one's faith, especially in the case of the oriental poets who shower the rain of encomium upon undeserving patrons even, then it can very safely pointed out to our credit that Khwājū's own selection of ^{his holiness} praise of 'Alī (may Allāh be pleased with him), and the omission of praise ^{their holinesses} of Abū Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Uṣmān (may Allāh be pleased with them) reflect upon the bent of his mind towards the Shī'a sect.

For the sake of argument, let us ignore this point and try to get another convincing proof for our statement. Through the critical study of his works, we quote the following couplets of Khwājū that Khwājū belonged to the Shī'a School of Thought like Firdausi:-

50A دیوان خواجو	منکر میسر خدا چو میسری کا قطاب چرخ - از سر صد قش قدم در کوئے سوداے زند
51B دیوان خواجو	ہر سحر و سیران روشن راے کر و بی چو صبح - رایت ہریش بریں عالی زدایاے زند
52B دیوان خواجو	چوں علی عیار دیں شد قدسیان از ہر وہابہ - خشتہء ایم وزر بر ملک بالاے زند
53B دیوان خواجو	فویہ شفق در کنار چرخ بسوگ مسین - دو دغسق در جگر دہر بدایغ صن
54A دیوان خواجو	چوں بزم از جہاں حرت آل رکول - روز جزا در بزم سوخته مینی کفن
55B دیوان خواجو	آنرا کہ سرفداے صوابے علی نکرد - یارب ز حادثات چہ ہر سر لڑشتہ اند
56A دیوان خواجو	شادم ہر یک بر صفات عقیدہ تم - شرح خلوص آن شہء صفر لڑشتہ اند

Do you deny God's Lion, when the pole stars of the sky
 Do set their feet in his love's street with sincerity?
 Each morn the aged of the heavenly bodies like dawn
 Have pitched the tent of his love on the corners high that be.
 When Ali was the mason of faith, the angels set the sky
 With the gold, silver bricks of the Sun and the Moon right.

For Hussain's death, the twilight's blood on the sky's lap;

Moreover, he was a firm believer in resignation to the will of Allāh:

فضل کن و ترکِ تفضل بہہ - ہر در دین روئے تو کل بنہ
 Be good and leave the thought of greatness all,
 Let the face of Trust on the faith's door fall.

Further, he did not disbelieve in Paradise:-

خو رو جنت بہر دینہ اراں بود خواجو ولیک - جنت ما کوئے حمار است و شاہد جو رہین
 O Khwājū, for the faithful are the houris and Paradise,
 But our heav'n's the wine-seller's lane, our sweet herself houri.

but he took a higher view of life beyond the grave.

بہ کنج صومعہ آہنا کہ ساکنند امروز - جو بلبلان چمن در ہوا گئے گلزار اند
 Those who reside now in the corners of their own closets,
 Like the philomels of the vale, they live in the mead's breeze.

Still again, he was not a non-believer in submission to the Divine Decree

دست دادیم بہ بند تو و تسلیم شدیم - چارہ نیست چو دستم بہ تو درے نشود
 We to your bondage have bowed down and ourselves are resigned,
 There is no other remedy when we can't Thee approach.

yet he succumbed to the adversities in life and lamented more often than
 not, as we have discussed above already. Realizing his own drawbacks,
 he depicts his penitent heart;

کدام ابر بہاری شنیدی بگو ہر افشانی - بہان دیدہ خواجو گرت حیا ست بگو
 Have you heard of a cloud of spring that sheds the drops of pearls
 Like to the eyes of Khwājū, say, if you have modesty.

and yields to his lot.

As an orthodox Muslim he begs of the Holy Prophet's (the choicest
 blessings of Allāh be upon him) intercession:-

بادا ہزاراں آفریں ہر جانب از جاں آفریں - مگر از خواجو را چیں محبوبس این محنت را
 در این مضیق آب و گل نیست از گنہ خوار و مجمل - اور از درین ظلمت پہل و زلزلہ معنی وہ ضیا
 From Allāh on your soul thousands of blessings be,
 In this world of trials do not leave Khwājū imprisoned so.

.....
 In this narrow place of the earth, Khwājū is sorrowful, disgraced,
 Don't leave him in this darkness-pray, reality's light then him
 show.

and supplicates Allāh's forgiveness:

آتش دل بسوخت خواجو را - و قنار بنا عذاب النار
 The fire of the heart has burnt Khwājū all,
 O Allāh, save us from the fire of Hell!
 دعا تو فیہی لا با اللہ

(British Museum Rotos)

Serial No.	Letter and Opening Verse.	Space	No. of Couplets.
1	... ^{الف} چوں رخ فو و بر الوان این حدیقه مینا	28B to 29B	37
2	... دوش بر دم بودج یقصد بر کبریا (مسط)	46B to 47A	21
3	... الحمد لله الذی خلق السموات العلی	47A to 48A	27
1	... ^ب زین سفینه دم زند من عنده علم الکتاب	8A to 9A	38
2	... قم اللیل با صاحبی بالترکایب	17B to 19B	79
1	... ^ت ترکی که بر قمر ز شیش طوق عنبریست	40A to 41A	27
2	... لاف آزادی از سر و سپن آید راست	42A to 43A	40
3	... چرخ سرگشته گدایش است	43B to 44B	50
1	... ^ج صبح چو سحر برزد از در میچہ ابراج	30B to 31A	30
1	... ایناں که بریں گوشہ با منده نامند	5A to 5B	23
2	... تاچه دیو ند که خاتم ز سلیمان طلبند	5B to 6A	24
3	... چو عنقاء خورشید را پر بلرزد	23B to 25A	47
4	... بوقت خنده ز لعل تو چاں فرد بریزد	26A to 27B	43
5	... مزده مقدم مخدوم جهان آوردند (ترکیب بند)	32A to 33B	42
6	... باز طادس نلک را بال زر بر بسته اند (مسط)	33B to 34B	35
7	... کشتگان راه حق لاف از میحای زند	49B to 50B	44
8	... وجه بر است شام بر اختر نوشته اند	52B to 54A	43
1	... ^د همه را گل بدست و مارا خار	2A to 5A	114
2	... کار من آشفته گشت از روزگار	7A to 8A	37
3	... اگر چه بے خبر افتاده ام زیار و دیار	15A to 17A	91
4	... چوں پدید آمد ز زیر هفت چرخ مستدیر (ترکیب بند)	19B to 21A	48
5	... ای بنیل کبریایت معصم فتح و ظفر	22A to 23B	49
6	... ای اغیار درت سره اولی الابصار	35A to 36B	47
7	... چوں شد زبام طارم این نیلگوں حصار	36B to 38A	48
1	... ^ع مررنا بحراً و النجم یلمع	11A to 12B	62
1	... ^ق زب سپهر بریں متکائے بواسحق	46A to 46B	21
1	... سطریت هر دو کون ز اوراق دفترم	6B to 7A	25
2	... دوش چوں شاه بخش بیرون خراسید از حرم	9A to 10B	65
3	... باز چشمه ز مرد سلب زریں طام	12B to 13B	40
4	... زبای عذار تو دارالقرار مردم چشم	25A to 26A	49

Serial No.	Letter	and Opening Verse	Space	No of Couplets.
5	...	اے کعبہ روی چو مہیت قبلہ و عالم	29B to 30B	31
6	...	سحر کہ مشعلہ دار سپهر آئینہ خام	31B to 32B	28
7	...	جرعہ خوردم و سحرست و خراب اقدام (ترکیب بند)	38A to 39A	42
8	...	من ببال کبریا و اوج وحدت سے پریم	44B to 46A	43
9	...	دوش جانرا محرم اسرار اسرے یافتیم	55A to 56B	41
10	...	اے بنادہ خشت زر بر روزن سپیں بام	56B to 59A	59
11	...	چوں برآرد جوش جیش شاہ رنگ از راہ شام	59A to 59B	26

ن

1	...	آلاتی جعدہ پین بر چیں شکیں کند انگن	13B to 14B	41
2	...	آں چیت عکس بید قی زین آسمان	21A to 22A	45
3	...	اے پیکر منور محو در قوی چکاں	27B to 28B	41
4	...	پشتہ شکریت آنچه تو داری نہ دهن (ترکیب بند)	41A to 42A	40
5	...	دوش چوں در جنبش آمد قلزم سودائے من	48A to 49B	56
6	...	قرطہ زر چاک زد و لعبت سپیں بدن	50B to 52B	69
7	...	دوش چوں یسمرغ زربین کرد بر قاف آشیان	54A to 55A	45

1	...	اے تو تیا چشمت ملک خاک پائے تو	34B to 35A	25
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1	...	برآرد آں مع خورشید منظر از رخ گاہ (مخمس)	39A to 40A	30
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Index to the Murattat of the Divan-i-Khwājū (British Museum Rotos)

1	...	افضل عالم کمال داد و دیں - اے بر اقلیم صفر مالک رقاب	61A to 61B	16
2	...	برگزشت از آسمان من کل باب	61B to 62B	29
3	...	پہر میر معالی مہ سپہر جلال - زہے ضمیر تو منیاں عالم غیب	69A to 69A	6
4	...	زہی ز چرخ بریں پرده در بلند نی آب	69B to 70A	11
1	...	چوں رفت کس ماہ در زیور نیافت	62B to 63A	23
2	...	اعظم جلال دولت و دیں ارب کا سماں { بر آستان قصر جلالش گذر نیافت	63B to 64A	16
3	...	مہدی ثانی عمید الملک رکن داد و دیں { اے کہ دوزخ ز آتش قہر تشراری پیش نیست	64A to 64B	15
4	...	زہے رفیع جنابے کہ چون بیوت عناکب { پہر بر در ایوان رفعت تو تنید ست	65A	9
5	...	زہے فرشتہ صفا تے کہ چرخ ذات ترا { برائے تربیت ملک در جہاں بگماشت	68B to 69A	7
6	...	اے زما مستغنی و امثال ما { بر شما احوال ما دلوشیہ نیست	69A to 69B	3
7	...	ایں صفہ کز صفا ز خویش نمونه ایست	69B to 69B	3
8	...	ایا شگوفہ باغ کرم کہ گاہ صبر { چوں ملک نغمہ نواز تو عندهی نیست	70B to 70B	4
9	...	ایا سپہر معالی کہ ہر تو طبیعت	70B to 71A	4

10	.....	خواسم قطره سپاہی دوش۔ از کہ ز انکس کہ نور دیدہ ماست	71A to 71A	5
11	.....	اے کہ رائے تو از سیاہی شب۔ نایب شاہ گنبد خفاست	71A to 71B	10
12	.....	اے دل امرو ز آنکہ در عالم۔ لاف آزادگی ز بندہ مست	76B	2
13	.....	چوں کشت سوار آنکہ بہنگام ہوائ۔ زلال گم گم پیکر او عالم بالاحت	77B to 77B	3
14	.....	صدر بلند مرتبہ پکی کہ معطی۔ مانند افراد در ارکان نراہ است	79B to 80B	5

1	.....	زبدہ دوراں ملک مستغفران کز کبریا حضرت اور را ملاذ آل البرغون کند	64B to 65A	20
2	.....	اے کہ گردوں خسو و جاہ ترا نہ کہ خور، بیج خواب نیز نداد	68B to 68B	9
3	.....	ہر انگلی کہ دریں روضہ آشیان سازم ہر از یاقوت عقیسی بگوش جان آید	69B to 69B	5
4	.....	منہ سمجھ بجز شمس دین محمد شاہ زلال مشرب دین و نہال کاشن و او	71A to 71A	8
5	.....	آیا سمجھ علوی کہ رائے روشن تو ز شاہ گنبد فیروزہ گوے ہر بایہ	71B to 71B	9
6	.....	روزے وفا یافت امیر در اصفہاں ز انہا کہ در عراق بشارت رسیدہ اند	75B to 75B	5
7	.....	باد سپاہی کہ جم را خاک رہ بنداشتہ ہر من از دیوانگی ہر دم کینے ے کشود	75B to 76A	5
8	.....	در زباں آوری مگویش کہ چرخ سرت اندر سر زباں نکند	76A to 76A	2
9	.....	گفت بامن یکے ز فیروزاں کہ چہ بودت و آمدن مقصود	76B to 76B	5
10	.....	تافضی طوے را دے پرخوں۔ جز بتیغ ہلاک ریش مباد	77B to 77B	4
11	.....	ز ریش باو کہ صد خوار از ان چشم۔ بجوئے کون بہ روزی شیر فرد	77B to 77B	2
12	.....	دے بصحبت پیری رسیدم دوش۔ کہ بود منشی دیوان چرخ را آفتاب	78A to 78A	7
13	.....	زغن شکلی کہ در فضل بہاراں۔ صفیر از بلبل خوش گوید زرد	78B to 78B	15
14	.....	شام سزد کہ در شکرستان مدح تو طوطی طبع من شکند ہر زمان شکر	68A to 68B	4
15	.....	با غم گسارے باز سے گفتہ فحے از بلائے تنگ دستی و خفائے روزگار	70B to 70B	2
16	.....	بندہ دار و دیار کے بس نامدار و معتبر	73A to 74B	41
17	.....	کافی دولت و دین میر ہو بکر کہ نیست در جہانت بمعالی و کمالات نظیر	77A to 77B	9
18	بہرین آرزو دام کہ بنیم۔ عزیزے چند را در اصفہان خوار	78A to 78A	3

1	افتخار جہاں منظر دین۔ معدن جو دو منبع دانش	72A to 73A	51
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1	ز تعظیم و تفاخر زردہ فراش ازل چار طاقت ز شرف ہر زیر صفت و رنگ	70B	2
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1	...	زہے ز شرم عطائے کو آب گشتہ بحار زدستِ حلم تو بر خاک رہ نشستہ خیال	69A to 69A	7
2	...	تاجہ کنی عرضِ عروض اے ز جہالت نا کردہ جوے حاصل و مغرور بتحیصل	77B to 78A	3
3	...	صدر دین بختی تمنا بانی کہست۔ درخری بے مثل و ضربی مثل	79A to 79B	19

۴

1	...	شے ز درد شکم بے خبر بیفتاد	78A to 78B	4
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ن

1	...	صدف درج معانی دژ دریاے معلوم بلبل باغ فصاحت گل بستان سخن	66B to 67A	9
2	...	ایا سحر صافی کہ ہر سخن اختیار نہ بر جہتِ نیک تو ہر سخن اختیار	69B to 69B	5
3	...	میر یو بکر طوی کو بنامی۔ کرم ابو الحسن بوجہ حسن	77B to 77B	3
4	...	ستودہ مخبر آفاق صدر دین بختی۔ کہ افتخار زینت و اختیار	80A to 80A	2

۵

1	...	اے رہ رواں بادیہ پیمائے چرخ را رکن بساط مجلس اعدااتِ مرحلہ	65B to 66A	20
2	...	اے سکھ قراضہ اقبال را عیار بے طلعت در اہم افضال نامرہ	70B to 70B	3
3	...	بزم اگر نہ نار بستانی بود خاک نیک از خون جام بادہ بہ	76A to 76A	5
4	...	اے ضرر سرفراز گردوں بر خاک دہر تو سر نہادہ	76A to 76A	5
5	...	اے بھر گوشت بھر بردہ کسے در بے علم واں ہم کردہ تو نہ زہر نہ خرد ناخوردہ	78A to 78A	2

۶

1	...	چو شہا مشرق زینفائے دم باز آمد پیادہ گشت ازیں سبز فک چو گانی	63A to 63B	21
2	...	غیاث دولت و دین کھف عالم زہے دستِ بد پر پاشی سما جی	66A to 66B	11
3	...	محیط نقطہ عالم مدار مرکز ملک جہاں بناہ سیماں قرآصف ستانی	66A to 66B	13
4	...	جہاں چو دشمس دین و دولت زہے طبع تو در د آتش جہانی	67A to 67B	22
5	...	کمال دین بہر فضل خواجو جہاں علم و دریائے معانی	67B to 67B	10
6	...	فروغ اختر دین محمد۔ سحر فضل شمس پنجوانی	67B to 68A	14
7	...	الائی عین آب زندگانی	70A to 70B	9
8	...	صاحب ما گرش کرم بودے	76B to 77A	17
9	...	عزیزی کو مرا خواری نمودی۔ چو سیمہ سمان باجی	79A to 79A	14
10	...	پیش دانا بصر رواں از رد۔ قطرہ خون صدر دین بختی	80A to 80A	3
11	...	اے ملک کا وطبع خرس مزاج۔ مگر اے کیر خواہ زن کہ توئی	80A to 80B	12

* 1... 1... رنگ شفق نگر که چو خورشید روشتفت (مرثیه) ترکیب بند ... 60A to 61A 42

1 ... 1... ^{مشنوی} امیر در ممالک سرور آمد - که چو تیغ از ممالک بر سر آمد ... 74B to 75B 47

1 ... 1... فرد ... 76B to 76B 1
اهل آنجا همه خواهند که سوری باشند

1 ... 1... بیت ... 80A to 80 1
گر ندیدی شکل گاو عاده از سرگس خ
خیز و شکل صد زردین یکنی تمنا جی گم

Serial no.	Letter and opening lines	Space	No. of Couplets
1 ...	الف مے رود آب رخ از بادہ کلرنگ مرا	83A	9
2 ...	خرقه رہن خانہ خار دارد پیر ما	83A	9
3 ...	شبہی کہ راہ وہم آہ آتش افشاں را	83B	9
4 ...	این چه خلد است کہ چندین ہمہ حور است اینجا	83B	7
5 ...	بگذر ای خوابہ دنگدار مرا مست اینجا	84A	7
6 ...	بدہ آن راج رواں پرور و جانی را	84A	8
7 ...	گر ماہ بود بر سر کوئی تو صبارا	133A	10
8 ...	اگر در جلوہ می آری سمند باد جولاں را	135B	9
9 ...	کجا خبر بود از حال من حبیبان را	139B	9
10 ...	اگر سرم برود در سر وفا می شما	141B	11
11 ...	آن نقش ہیں کہ خستہ کند نقش بند را	151B	9
12 ...	دست گیرید درین واقفہ کا فتاد مرا	161A	9
13 ...	یاد باد آنکہ بروے تو نظر بود مرا	166A	9
14 ...	چو در نظر نمود روی دوستان مارا	170A	11
15 ...	آن ماہ مہر دیکر نامہر بان ما	181B	11
16 ...	رحم برگدایان نیست شاہ نیمروزی را	198A	8
17 ...	آب آتش مے برد خورشید شب پوش شما	200B	9
18 ...	کس نیست کہ گویند من آن ترک خطارا کہ رفت خطا	204A	16
19 ...	اے ماہ قبیحا قی شبست از سر بنہ بظاق را	208B	11
20 ...	ساقیا وقت صبح شد بیاور جام را	210A	9
ب			
1 ...	رفت و شتم نفس دینہ گریاں در خواب	84B	9
2 ...	ہر کہ در عہد ازل مست شد از جام شراب	84B	8
3 ...	اے جہنم نیم مست تو از من رہودہ خواب	85A	9
4 ...	اے لب لعلت ز آب زندگانی بردہ آب	130A	11
5 ...	برقع از رخ برنگن اے بت مشکین نقاب	141A	9
6 ...	چند سوزیم من و شمع شبستان ہمہ شب	142B	9
7 ...	ای کردہ مہ را از تیرہ شب نقاب	147A	8
8 ...	مفتی وقت آن آمد کہ بنوازی رباب	147B	9
9 ...	طرہ مشکین نباشد بر رخ جانان غریب	168B	9
10 ...	دی شب خبرت هست کہ در مجلس اصحاب	171A	4
11 ...	گو بیا عزم ندارد کہ شود روزا مشب	204A	10
12 ...	دی شب در آمد آن بت مہ روی شب نقاب	205A	9
13 ...	طلع الصبح من وراء حجاب	233B	14

Serial no.	Letter and opening lines	Space	No of Couplets.
1 ...	ورطہ بر خطر عشق ترا ساحل نیست	85A	10
2 ...	خطر بادیه عشق تو بیش از پیش است	85B	7
3 ...	بہرستانِ جمالت بہار بسیار است	85B	8
4 ...	بدایتِ غم عشق ترا نہایت نیست	86A	7
5 ...	لذتِ زوہد مرغِ سحرانگ صبح گفت	86A	9
6 ...	گفتم کہ چرا صورتت از دیدہ نہا نیست	86B	9
7 ...	باغ و صحرا بہ سہی سرواں ہمیں بر فروخت	86B	9
8 ...	نظون اگر ت خاطر درویشا نیست	87A	7
9 ...	نعم مگر نہادہ بر آتش کہ غیر ست	87A	9
10 ...	مگذر زما کہ خاطر ما در وفائی تست	87B	8
11 ...	جانم از بادۂ لعل تو خراب افتادہ است	87B	9
12 ...	ترا با ما اگر صلح است جنگست	88A	9
13 ...	بس کہ مرغِ سحری در غمِ کلنار لبوخت	88A	8
14 ...	چو طلعت تو مرا انتہائی مقصود است	88B	8
15 ...	بہیچ دل نیست کہ میلش بہ لارائی نیست	88B	8
16 ...	ز لعل آہد ابر تو نعم بر آتش است	89A	9
17 ...	خطبت کہ کتابہ جمالتست	89A	9
18 ...	شامش از صبح فروزندہ در آویختہ است	89B	7
19 ...	من بقول دشمنان ہرگز نگیرم ترک دوست	89B	9
20 ...	چو ہر چشمہ چشمی دیدہ است	90A	11
21 ...	شمع من شمعیت کو منظور ہر پروانہ نیست	90A	8
22 ...	شمع ما مامول ہر پروانہ نیست	90B	11
23 ...	با تو نقشی کہ در تصور ما ست	90B	11
24 ...	ریح از کسے بریم کہ در دشن دواے ما ست	91A	9
25 ...	کاف دلاں حرفی ز اوراق کتب خانہ ما ست	91A	9
26 ...	گرچہ کاری چو عشق بازی نیست	91B	9
27 ...	ساقیا ساغر شراب کجا است	91B	10
28 ...	سحاب سہیل اشک رودبار منست	92A	8
29 ...	آہ کراہیم مہ و پرویں بسوخت	92A	8
30 ...	اینجا نماز زندہ دلاں جز نیاز نیست	92B	9
31 ...	کارواںِ حیمہ بہ صحرا زوہد محلِ بگذشت	92B	10
32 ...	نفسی بہ ہم ما باش کہ عالم نفسیست	93A	9
33 ...	اگر ترا غم امتیال ما بود غم نیست	93B	11
34 ...	دلبرِ خور لیلیہ تا باںِ فرہ از روئی تست	93B	8
35 ...	رمضان آمد و شد کارِ صراحی از دست	94A	9
36 ...	یاراں ہم مخمور و قدحِ پیرمی نالبت	132B	9

Serial No.	Opening line	Space	No. of couplets
37	گر نہ مرغ چمن از بیم نفس خویش جداست	135A	11
38	روضہ خلد بریں بستان سرائی بیش نیست	135A	10
39	این بوئی بیمار است کہ از سونے چمن خاست	138B	9
40	زلف بندوی تو در تابست و مارا تاب نیست	141A	9
41	ز آتشکده و کعبہ غرض سوز و نیاز است	145B	9
42	ہیچکس نیست کو منظور مرا ناظر نیست	145B	10
43	ز آید مغرور اگر کعبہ باشد فاجر است	146A	9
44			
45	ز زلفش نافہ تاتار تار نیست	146B	9
46	شعاع چشمہ مهر از فروغ رضا رست	149B	9
47	دلبر اسنبل بندوی تو در تاب چر است	150A	7
48	پیش است رخ ہنم زان رو کہ غم نبود زلمات	153B	8
49	رضار تو شمع کاینا تست	154A	9
50	سنبلس برگ ارغوان بگرفت	154A	9
51	ای کہ از سر چشمہ نوشت برفت آب نبات	156A	9
52	اے قمر تابی از بنا گوشت	156A	11
53	مہر کہ مجنون نیست از احوال لیلے غافل است	158A	9
54	فروغ عارض او یا سپیدہ سحر است	158B	11
55	ترا کہ طرہ مشکین و خط رنگار نیست	159A	9
56	خط گزیرہ شب بر خور نوشتت	159B	9
57	کار ما بے قیہ زیباتی آید راست	160B	11
58	سیح میدانی چرا اشکم ز چشم افتاده است	161A	9
59	آن جوہر ماہ چہرہ کہ رضواں غلام دوست	164B	9
60	ز کفر زلفت ایماں مے تو اں یافت	165A	10
61	صنوزت ترکس اندر عین خواہست	165A	11
62	کہ ام دل کہ گرفتار و پائے بند تو نیست	166A	9
63	یا قوت روا بخشش تو تا قوت روا نیست	168A	9
64	تاکند مرغ دلم را چون کبوتر پائے بند	171B	
65	ماہیم از شب سایہ پاں بر آفتاب انداختت	171B	9
66	در خندہ آن عقیق شکر ریز خوشتر است	172A	9
67	بیمار چشم مست تو رنجور خوشتر است	172A	9
68	دردا کہ یار در غم و دردم بہاند و رفت	173A	9
69	سحر کہ ماہ عقرب زلف من مست	173A	9
70	بہاء روئے تو بازار مشتری بشکست	174B	11
71	عنبر است آن دامن دل یا زلف عنبر سائے دوست	175A	10
72	اے بیک صبا حال ہری چہرہ ما چیست	179A	9
73	جانم از غم بہ لب رسیدہ است	182B	9

Serial no.	Opening line	Space	No. of Couplets.
74	ترا کہ موئے و میاں بہم وجود و ہم عدم است	183A	10
75	ایں چنین صورت کہ از آب و گلاب است	185B	10
76	رخش با آب و آتش در نقاب است	186A	10
77	گرہ زلف بہم برزده کیس مشک تار است	186B	10
78	اے کہ از دفتر حسنت مہ تاباں با بیست	187B	8
79	کلنج زلف سیاہ تو بر سمن چہ خوش است	189A	8
80	اے کہ زلف بہت بر گل روئے آشفشت	189B	9
81	جواز برگ گلش سنبل دمید است	190A	9
82	اے من زد و چشم نیم مسنت مست	191B	7
83	آں زماں مہر تو بہت کہ پیاں ے بہت	191B	9
84	ایل دل را از لب شیریں جاناں چارہ نیست	194A	9
85	بتی کہ طرہ او مجمع ہر نشانیست	196A	11
86	ہج روئے نیست گز چرخ سید رو زو نیست	198B	9
87	مرا یا قوت او قوت رواں است	199B	9
88	دلم بر مردم چشم چنانست	200A	9
89	بامنت کینہ و با جملہ صفا است	205B	6
90	گمرا از جور خواں ننانی روا است	206A	7
91	کفتم کہ چرا صورت از دیدہ نہانست	206A	9
92	سیدہ دم کہ جہاں بوئے نو بہار گرفت	206B	10
93	آں ترک پیری چہرہ مگر لعبت چیں است	207A	9
94	اے کہ بہت آب شکر ریخت	207B	7
95	ابروئے تو طاقست کہ پیوستہ ہلال است	208B	11
96	گل بہتان خود لفظ دلارا ے منست	209B	13
97	زلف پیلے صفتت دایم دل مجنونست	210A	9
98	دی شب در آمد از درم آں ماہ چہرہ مست	212A	9
99	بوقت صبح مے روشن آفتاب منست	217A	9
100	از سر جان در گنہ گم واصل جاناں با یدت	218B	9
101	بیش ازین بی ہمدی در خانہ نتوانم نشست	218B	9
102	روئے زمین ز خون دلم غم گرفتہ است	220A	10
103	اگرچہ بلبل طبع ہزار دستاںست	220A	10
104	جو ہرگز شب عبیری نقاب انداخت	220B	9
105	روز رخسار تو ماہی روشن است	221A	10
106	لعل شیریں تو و صفش بر شکر باید نوشت	223B	9
107	ترک من ترک من بے سرو پا کرد و برفت	223B	9
108	دلا جان در رہ جاناں حجابست	225B	12
109	بوقت صبح جو آں سرو انجن بنشت	226A	9
110	ورطہ پیر خط عشق ترا ساحل نیست	227A	11

111	آن دل کہ او بدامِ غمت پائے بند نیست	227B	9
112	غره ماہ چو آن عارضِ شہر آرا نیست	228A	11
113	اینا نما ز زندہ دلاں جز نیاز نیست	231A	9
114	صبح کز چشمِ فلک اشکِ تریاے ریخت	232B	13

بج

1	بروں ز جامِ معادِ مجوی ہمدم، بیج	94B	9
2	میانِش موئی و میثریں دہاں، بیج	95A	10
1	گر مئے خسرویشیں بشکر کم نشود	82B	18
2	بشو بملکِ سلیمان و مالِ کارون شاد	94A	15
3	تا در پینندہ دوارا نشنا سند	95A	8
4	ایں چہ باد است کہ از سوئی چمن بے آید	95B	9
5	بی لالہ رھاں روی بہ صحرانِ نتواں کرد	95B	9
6	کسی کز اں سر زلفِ دو تا بخی ترسد	96A	10
7	تا جہ اری بکند ہر کہ ز سر در گذرد	96A	8
8	امیرِ قیدِ محبت ز جان نیندیشد	96B	11
9	مہی چون او بھا ہے ہر نیا یہ	96B	7
10	بہالی کی چناں مایہ بر آید	97A	7
11	ہر کہ اورا قدمی بہت ز سر نیندیشد	97A	9
12	آن رفت کہ میلِ دل ماسوئی شتابود	97B	8
13	کسیت کہ بمن حدیثِ یار بگوید	97B	7
14	بخشم رفتہ ما گر بصلح باز آید	98A	9
15	نشت ہر یارِ کماں ابروئے مانتواں کرد	98A	9
16	بیا کہ بی سر زلفِ مرا لب نہ نشود	98B	8
17	گویند کہ صبرِ آتشِ عشقت بنشانند	98B	9
18	بی گلبنِ وصلتِ بگلستانِ نتواں بود	99A	10
19	دلبرم را ہر طولی ہر شکر خواہد فتاد	99A	9
20	چوں مرادیدہ بر اں آتشِ رضا را فتد	99B	8
21	آن شکر لب کہ نہا آتشِ ز شکرے رویہ	99B	10
22	در پامی تو ہر کہ سر انداز نیاید	100A	9
23	بید است کہ او و دمِ ماہہ ہر اید	100A	9
24	خطی کہ بر سمنِ آن گل عذار بنویسد	100B	9
25	ہر نسخہ کہ در وصفِ خطِ یار نویسد	100B	10
26	ای کہ از شرفِ خوی از رضا را فورے چکد	101A	9
27	آن خطِ شبِ مثال کہ ہر فور نوشتہ اند	101A	10
28	بہارِ دہر بہارِ خزاں نغے از زد	101B	9
29	خورشید را بہایہ شب در نشانہ اند	102A	12

Serial no.	Letter and Opening Verse	Space	No. of couplets.
30	بسیم باد صبا جان من فدائے تو باد	102A	9
31	کس حال میں سوختہ چوں شمع ندانہ	102B	9
32	مرغانِ این چمن بہم بے بال و بے پرانہ	102B	9
33	بیاد باد آں شب کہ دہر مست و دل در دست بود	103A	9
34	عاقل نذیر عاشق دل سوختہ را پند	103A	9
35	گمان بر کہ در آفاق اہل صن کند	103B	9
36	دل کہ حلقہ کیسویں یارے گیرد	103B	9
37	ہمچو شمع بشتانِ حرم یاد کنند	104A	9
38	شرکم از غمہ چو نادرک بکمان در فلند	104A	8
39	کہ ام دل کہ ز دوری بجاں نئے آید	104B	9
40	لب چو بکشو در شک شکر م یاد آمد	104B	9
41	شام کیسور اگر چیں کردہ اند	105A	10
42	بہ سوز چشم من سر شمع الوان تو باد	105A	7
43	دوش چوں در شکن طرہ شب چیں دادند	105B	9
44	تا بر آید نفس از عشق و می پایہ زد	105B	8
45	ترک تیر انداز ما کو پیش لشکر می رود	106A	11
46	دست گیر و بدہ شتم فی گل قام دہیدہ	106A	9
47	ساقیانک ہم بجام لعل شکر خا بر نہ	106B	8
48	لوزویت تاب در شمع شبتان افلند	106B	7
49	در دین دل خستہ بہر ماں کہ رساند	107A	10
50	ہمکس نیت کہ وصل تو تمنا نکند	107A	10
51	مے کشندم بجز ابات و در اں مے کوشند	130A	9
52	دل از دست بشد تا بسرا و چہ رسد	132A	9
53	سپیدہ دم کہ صبا بر چمن گذرے کرد	133B	11
54	خنک آں باد کہ از خاکِ خراساں گذرد	134A	11
55	تا چیں آن دوزخ سمن سا پدید شد	136B	11
56	کہ می رود کہ پیام بشہر یار رساند	136B	9
57	ہر کراستہ در ست بست ہزر بازماند	137A	9
58	مشنو کہ چراغ دل من روئی تو بنود	137B	9
59	ترک من ترک من گرفت و خطا کرد	138B	11
60	زندہ اند آنہا کہ پیش چشمِ خواہاں مردہ اند	139A	9
61	در دغیم عشق را طبیب نہ باشد	140A	9
62	بیا کہ بی سر زلفت مرا بسر نشود	143A	9
63	مرا دہیں کہ ہمیشہ مرید باز آمد	143A	13
64	کسی کہ دل بہر جاہاں نہ ارد	146B	9
65	نقشِ رویت بچہ رواز دلِ ہر خوں برود	146B	7

Serial no.	Letter and Opening Verse	Space	No. of couplets.
66	149A ماہ من مشک سید بردا من گل میکند		11
67	149B ز چشم مست تو آنہا کہ آگہی دارند		9
68	150A مادر کنارو باتو کمر در میان بماند		8
69	151B ماہ من دوش سر از جیب ملاحت بر کرد		8
70	152A کاروان خستنی مشک خطامے آرد		9
71	153A دوش کز طوفان اشکم آب دریا رفته بود		10
72	154B کوئی بت من چوں ز بستان بد را ید		10
73	154B صوفی اگرش باد صافی نچستانند		7
74	155A ترک من کوئی کہ بازش خاطر خمیر بود		9
75	155A کسی کہ پشت بران روئی چوں نگار کند		9
76	155B صبح جوں گلشن جمال تو دید		8
77	155B آن زمان کز من دسوخستہ آثار نبود		7
78	156B ز ہی بل تو در درج منضود		10
79	160A چو ترک من سید جیش برفتن زند		8
80	160A خنک غمزہ بادو چو در کان آرد		9
81	163A ہری رجاں کبرخ رشک لعنت چینیہ		9
82	164B دران مجلس کہ جام عشق نوشند		8
83	165B سربست مرگلو کہ اغیار نداند		9
84	165B دلا سود عالم زیانی نیرزد		9
85	168A دوش بر طرف چمن زمزمہ فاختہ بود		12½
86	168B جز نالہ کسم مونس و دساز نہا بد		9
87	169A سنبش غارت ایمان نکند چوں نکند		9
88	169B نالہاں ز دل چنگ ہروں ے آید		9
89	170B کی طرف گلستاں چو سر کوئی تو باشد		9
90	171A رنج ما بردیم و کنج ار باب دولت بردہ اند		9
91	172B ایں چہ نامست کہ از کشور یار آوردند		9
92	175A عجب دارم گر و عالم نداند		9
93	175B دل مجروح مرا آگہی از جان دادند		10
94	176A آفران سوز دل شہباز یاد آورید		8
95	176B جوں مطربان سحر آہنگ زہر و ہام گفتند		9
96	177B آن ہری چہرہ کہ جو رستم آئین دآرد		9
97	178A ماہ فرو رفت و آفتاب ہر آمد		10
98	178B کبہر روے تو در آفتاب نتوان دید		7
99	179A بلبل دل شدہ از گل بچہ باز آید		11
100	179B وقت صبح آن زمان کہ ماہ برآمد		9
101	180B شکر تنگ تو تنگ شکر آمد		7

Serial No.	Letter and Opening Verse	Space	No. of couplets.
102	مرا اے بخت یاری کن چو یار از دست بیرون شد	181B	7
103	توئی کہ بعل تو دست از عقیق کافی برد	183B	9
104	ایں دبران کہ پردہ برخ در کشیدہ اند	184A	10
105	ز حال بے قبر انت خبر غے باشد	184B	8
106	عجب از قافلہ دارم کہ بدرے نشود	184B	9
107	چوں برقع شبرنگ ز عارض بکشا ئید	185B	9
108	چوں صبا نلکت آں زلف پریشان آرد	188A	12
109	بر سر کوئے تو اندیشہ جاں نتوان کرد	188B	9
110	ملہ را اگر از مشک زره پوش توان کرد	188B	9
111	گل اندامے کہ گلگون سے دو اند	189B	8
112	آں دم کہ نہ شمع و نہ فغن بود	190A	11
113	گر مرا بخت دریں واقعہ یا ور نشود	191A	7
114	چوں طرہ عنبر شکش در شمع افتد	192B	9
115	ماجرائے کہ دلسوختہ سے پوشاند	192B	9
116	من خاک آں بادم کہ او بوی دلارام آرد	193B	9
117	چوں خط تو گرد رخ گلرنگ بگیرد	195B	9
118	عمیہ آمد و آں ماہ دلفروز نیامد	196A	7
119	کسی را از تو کامی بر نیاید	197A	10
120	جان تو چه بروی مہوش گرد	197B	7
121	باز عزم شراب خواہم کرد	201B	9
122	سوئے دیرم نگذارند کہ غم دانند	202B	11
123	چوں سایہ باب آفتاب از مشک تاتاری کند	203B	9
124	گل نہالی بہوستان آرد	205B	9
125	دوش چوں موکب سلطان خیالش برسد	209A	9
126	چوں سنبل تو سلسلہ برار غواں نہاد	211A	9
127	پیغام بلبلاں بہ گلستان کہ سے برد	211A	9
128	چہ باد است اینکہ سے آئید کہ بوی یار مادارد	212B	11
129	خیمہ نوز و ز بر صحر ا زدند	213A	9
130	سبزہ پیرامن سر چشمہ نوشش نگیرد	213B	6
131	ساقیان چوں دم از شراب زنند	216B	9
132	چو عکس روئے تو در ساغر شراب افتاد	216B	8
133	دو شتم وطن بجز در دیر مغاں نمود	217B	11
134	جان بر افشان اگر ت صحبت جاں پایہ	218A	7
135	دی شب ہمہ شب منزل من کوئی قفاں بود	218A	7
136	سوز غم تو آتش از جان بر آرد	219A	9
137	ہر کہ جو شمع از آتش دل تاج سر نکرد	219A	11

138	جو خطِ بے ز تو بر آفتاب بنویند	219B	11
139	بہاں ورق کہ صبا در کفِ شکوفہ نہاد	220B	9
140	طرہائے تو کند افکن طرار انند	221B	9
141	چو شام شد بختانِ شتاب باید کرد	221B	11
142	خدارا از سر زاری بگویند	222A	12
143	حدیثِ شمع از ہر دہانہ پر سید	222B	10
144	مستم زد در خانہ خوار بر آرید	223A	9
145	ز شہر یار کہ آید کہ حال یار بگوید	224B	9
146	نورِ رویت تاب در شمع شبستان افکند	225A	7
147	دلِ تنہا نغمہ خواہد کہ در کاشانہ ہمیشہ	227A	9
148	ہم کہ با بزرگِ سر مست تو در کار آید	228B	11
149	بنشین تا نفسی آتش با ہمیشہ	229B	9
150	تا ترا برگِ ما نخواہد بود	230A	10
151	بابِ گل رخِ آلِ گل عذارے شوید	230B	9
152	تا جداری کند آنکس کہ ز سر در گذرد	233A	9



1	سبحان من یسبحہ الرمل فی القفار	81A	15
2	بجز نسیم کہ یاید نفیسی از گلزار	107B	9
3	فتادہ ام من دیوانہ در غم تو امیر	107B	9
4	گر یار یار باشد از اغیار غمخور	108A	6
5	میج وقتی ازین خستہ دم در رخ مدار	130B	9
6	قلم گرفتم و میخواستم کہ بر طومار	134A	9
7	معلوم نکرد دخنِ عشق بہ تقریر	136A	9
8	بندم بچہ عقل سے دیدہ میر	146A	6
9	دامنِ خرگہ بر افکن اے بیتِ کشمیر	151A	10
10	ماہ یا صبتِ تیا رضا ر	158B	11
11	با حقیق لب او لعلِ بدخشاں کم گیر	159A	9
12	بر افکن سائہ بانِ ظلمت از نور	172B	9
13	بے طلب در نظر نیاید یار	174A	17
14	خبتِ اپای گل و صبح دم و فصل بہار	177B	9
15	ما از ہر دہ تو دل از ہر دہ شد بہر	181A	9
16	منم نہ بہر رخِ رو کردہ در دیوار	182B	8
17	بی دلی گردل زد لبر بر نگرد گوئیگر	193B	10
18	آ یا صبا گرت افتد بکوئی دوست گزار	196B	9
19	طرہ بفتاں و مرا بیش ہریشان مگذار	198A	10
20	ما یثیم و عشق و کنجِ خرابات و روئے یار	207A	7

21 اے خوشا وصل یار و فضل بہار 213A 11

22 آشنائے تو زیگانہ و خوشیش چہ خبر 229A 8

ز

1 این غزل یکہ و نوبت از سر سوز 108A 11

2 کار میں شکستہ بسا مان رسیدہ باز 108B 10

3 کجا بود من مدہوش را حضور نماز 108B 12

4 اے شدہ برہمہ ز شیعہ مہرہ ساز 153B 11

5 روز عیش و طرب و عید صیام است امروز 162B 9

6 بکشا بکشا خندہ لب لعل شکر ریز 166B 9

7 چوں کو تہست دستم از آن کیسے دراز 170B 9

8 اے دل از صحبت جاں طلبی جان در باز 180B 11

9 در جہاں قصہ حسن تو نشد فاش ہنوز 197B 6

10 بستم دل در آن سر زلف دراز باز 234A 8

س

1 ز لعل عیویاں قصہ میجا پرس 107A 7

2 معنی این صورت مگر ایں چیں پرس 109B 9

ش

1 بشہر یار بگوئید حال این درویش 109B 9

2 اگر او سخن نگویہ خفست در دیانش 110A 11

3 اے دل مکن انکار وزین کار میندیش 110A 8

4 آنکہ جز نام نیابند نشان از دہش 140B 9

5 رفت شمع شبستان ے نہندش 142B 9

6 دلم از ناوک چشم تو سرا سر ہمہ نیش (حاشیہ) 146B 8

7 یار مآر گر عی از یار نبود گو مباش 148A 12

8 اے شبہ زلفت غالیہ سامہ مرویت غالیہ پوش 150B 7

9 سخن گفتیم و صد قول خطا کردم گوش 158A 9

10 مستم زد و چشم نیمہ متش 159B 7

11 گرچہ تنگست دلم چوں دہن خندانش 161B 11

12 کارم از بے سیمی ارچوں زر نباشد گو مباش 161B 9

13 ترک خجرتش لشکرش نزلک پوش 167B 11

14 یاری آن نیت کہ آگاہ نباشد از یارم 169B 8

15 یاد بایہ کہ بود آگاہی از یارانش 171B 11

16 چو جام لعل تو نوشتم کجا بماند ہوش 178B 9

17 ز بے مستی من ز بادام مستش 178B 9

18 حسد از ہیج ندارم مگر از ہر ہنش 184A 9

19 سرور را پائے بگل ے رود از رفتارش 192A 9

20 آن ماہ من کہ فتنہ شود مہر انورش 194A 10

Serial No.	Letter and Opening Verse	Space	No. of Couplets.
20	گلزارِ جنت است رخ جو بیکرش	194B	9
21	۱ے حلقہ زردہ افغی مشکین تو بردوش	203B	9
22	۱ے دو چشم خوش پر خواہ تو در خواہی خوش	213B	7
23	برده از رخ بگلن ۱ے خود برده رضا خوش	224B	9
	ع		
1	بسوز سینه رسنه اہل دل بہدوقی سماع	143B	11
	غ		
1	بیار بادہ کہ وقت گلست و موسم باغ	110B	14
	ف		
1	چو آتشِ خورشعلہ زرد از شیشہ شفاف	144A	11
	ق		
1	باز بر افراختیم راہیت سلطانِ عشق	110B	8
2	سر بالعیس اصحابی دی فی العیس معشوق	215B	6
3	شمیم باغ بہشتت یا نسیم عراق	224A	12
4	۱ے بردہ عارضت بلطافت زمرہ سبق	234B	9
	ک		
1	نگہت روضہ خلداست کہ مے بیزد شک	111A	7
2	دیدم از دور بیتہ کا کلاش مشکینک	163B	9
	گ		
1	۱ے رواں از شکر تنگ تو شکر تنگ تنگ	209A	7
	ل		
1	رختی گر نکلند بردلم آن سنگین دل	111A	7
2	یا معشر اشمال ادا تحصیل الوصول	111B	9
3	ہر گہ کہ ز خرگہ بچمن بار دہہ گل	111B	10
4	یا مصرع اشمال اذا تحصیل الوصول	131B	9
5	باغبان گو بردو باد میما کہ ز گل	144B	11
6	مرا کہ راہ نماید کنوں بخانہ دل	144B	11
7	ز ہی زلفت شکستہ نرغ سنبل	148B	9
8	۱ے غم عشق تو آتش زردہ در خرمن دل	167A	9
9	گشت معلوم کنوں قیمتِ ایام وصال	167B	13
10	دلم رہودی و رفتی ولی نے روی از دل	200B	9
11	۱ے کہ دہ ترہ شب راہ آہنہ منزل	226B	7

20	کلام حضرت است و حق تعالی	194B	9
21	عطفه زده و حق تعالی در حق	203B	9
22	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	213B	7
23	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	224B	9
1	سوره سوره اولی در حق تعالی	143B	11
1	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	110B	13
1	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	144A	11
1	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	110B	8
2	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	215B	6
3	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	284A	12
4	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	234B	9
1	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	111A	7
2	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	163B	9
1	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	209A	7
1	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	111A	7
2	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	144B	11
3	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	131B	9
4	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	111B	10
5	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	144B	11
6	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	144B	11
7	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	148B	9
8	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	187A	9
9	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	187B	13
10	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	200B	9
11	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	226B	7
1	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	81B	16
2	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	112A	15
3	و حق تعالی در حق تعالی	112B	10

4	ماہر گاہ تو از کوئی نیاز آیدہ ایم	112B	8
5	مدتے شد کہ دریں شہر گرفتار تو ایم	113A	9
6	ماجر عم چشائیم وے خضر و شائیم	113A	11
7	کر من خمار خود بلب یا ربتکنم	113B	9
8	نسیم باد بہاری و رسمید خیزندیم	113B	11
9	ماچوں بکفر زلف تو اقرار کردہ ایم	114A	7
10	دلدادہ ایم و از پئے دلدارے رویم	114A	10
11	روزگاری روے در روئی نگاری دایتم	114B	8
12	ما امست و لعل و اں ہرور یا ریم	114B	8
13	ما قہج را کشتی و دل را چو دریا کردہ ایم	115A	9
14	صجدم جانرا مقیم خلوت جان یا فسیم	115A	9
15	حکایت رخت از آفتاب مے خسوم	115B	7
16	مگر کہ صبح من امشب امیر گشت بشام	115B	9
17	ز باد نکت زلف دو تات مے جویم	116A	7
18	اہل دل را خبر از عالم جان آور دیم	116B	8
19	باز چوں بلبل بصد درستان بیستاں آمدیم	116B	9
20	مدام آن نرگس ہر مست را در خواب مے بکنیم	116B	7
21	نیت بے روئے تو برگ گل و برگ سمنم	117A	12
22	روزی بہر کوئی خرابات رسیدم	117A	11
23	خوشا بچاس شوریدگان در د آ شام	117B	9
24	بیا کہ ہندوئی کیسوئے دستان تو با شیم	118A	10
25	در چمن دوش بہوئی تو گذر می کردم	118A	11
26	بزن ہنوک خدنگم کہ پیش دست تو میرم	118B	10
27	خیز تا برگ صہو می پچمن باز کنیم	118B	9
28	عقل کافی را کہ لوح کاف و لون محفوظ از دست	120B	
29	در مقام بخودی طفل دستان یا فسیم	120B	9
30	ما تو اے تویشتن را در بنی لوائی یا فسیم	120B	9
31	من می دل نگہ از صحبت جاناں محروم	120B	
32	تا جنبہ بشادی مے غمہائے تو نوشتم	121A	7
33	اے لالہ برگ خوش نظرت گلستان چشتم	121A	9
34	ترا کہ گنج کشودی ز زخم مارچہ غم	131A	9
35	دو جہاں وقف حرم حرم او کر دیم	132B	11
36	ز لعل ساغری در دہ کہ چوں چشم تو سر مستم	133B	11
37	گرہ من آب رخ از خاک درت یافتہ ام	134A	9
38	ما ز رخ کار خویش پردہ بر انداختیم	135B	7
39	من از اں لحظہ کہ در چشم تو دیدم مستم	136A	9
40	بیا کہ ہندوئی کیسوئے دستان تو با شیم	138A	11

ن میں سمنم
یہاں تو کہ پہلے ہی
Feb. 10/16

ز خوشی و رست

40	آنکہ لعش عین آب زندگانی یافتیم	138A	9
41	نکنم حدیث شکر چو لب گزیدم	147B	7
42	ما بظاہر ردیت بچھاں آمدہ ایم	167A	9
43	بالعلیٰ و ز جو ہر جاں درگذشتہ ایم	170A	9
44	ماست مے لعل رواں ہر در یاریم	173B	9
45	چو چشم مست تو مے پرستم	173B	7
46	رند و دروے کش و مستم چتواں کرد چو ہستم	176A	9
47	باروے چوں گلزارش از برگ سخن باز آمدم	182A	9
48	خرم آن روز کہ از خطہ کرماں بروم	182A	9
49	ماسر بنجادیم و سبا مان نرسیدیم	183A	9
50	شمع بنشست ز بادِ سحری خیزندیم	183B	8
51	خیزید اے میخوارگان تا خیمہ برگردوں ز نیم	186B	7
52	نشانِ روئے تو جہنم بہر کجا کہ رسیدم	190B	9
53	رخشنہ تر از مہرِ رخس ماں ندیدیم	198B	9
54	از عمر چو امیں یک دوفس بیش نداریم	201B	11
55	می ورم جامہ وارِ مدعیان مے پوشتم	203A	11
56	بدانکہ بوئے تو آورد صبحدم بادم	205A	9
57	وقتیست کز ورانے سراپردہ عدم	210B	15
58	نسیم زلف تو از نو بہار مے شنوم	223A	9
59	گلی برنگ تو در بوستانِ نئے بینم	225A	9
60	ماوی ایشاں او کردیم و جانی یافتیم	229B	11
61	آن ماہِ پری رخ را در خانہ نئے بینم	232A	10
62	ای تنم کردہ ز غم موی و بر موزدہ خم	232A	10

ن

1	ترا کہ گفت کہ قصہ دل شکستہ ماکن	119A	9
2	اے خواجہ مرا بامے و میخانہ رباکن	119A	9
3	اے بادِ سحر گاہی زینجا سحر کن	119B	9
4	چہ خوش است بادہ خوردن بصبح در گلستان	119B	8
5	کہی کہ جانِ دہ از چشمِ ناتواں ہیروں	120A	9
6	امشب اے یار قصہ خواب مکن	120A	1
7	سخنِ عشق نشاید ہر ہر کس گفتن	131A	7
8	بوقت صبح ندانم چہ شد کہ مرغ چین	131B	11
9	جانِ بدہ یاد گرا ندیشہ جانانہ مکن	132A	11
10	دوش چوں از لعلِ میگون تو میگفتم سخن	140B	10
11	تا چہنم از گل زنی اے بادِ بہاراں	142A	9
12	اے رخت شمع بت ہر رستاں شمع ہیروں برا ز شبستان	147A	7

13	اے مئی لعل تو کامِ رنداں	150B	7
14	دلا از جان زبانِ درکش کہ جانان	152B	10
15	چو چشمِ خفته بکشد دی بیتی چشمِ بیند اران	157A	11
16	نہی روی تو صبح شب نشیناں	166B	7
17	اے سر زلفِ تو لیلِ وجہانے مجنوں	186A	9
18	براشکم گہر آبیت روشن	187A	9
19	آں لبِ شیرین ہنچوں جانِ شیریں	190B	9
20	مگر کس مست فتنہ مستان	192A	9
21	تو میندار کہ ہر طرف چمن	193A	10+
22	اے بت یا قوت لب دے مہ نامہربان	194B	7
23	اے لب و گفتار تو کامِ دل و قوتِ جان	195A	9
24	اے چشمِ پیرست آشوبِ چشمِ بندان	199B	7
25	اے رخت فتنہ خورشیدِ ہرستان	199B	8
26	بہوستان مے گلبوی لالہ گونِ مستان	201A	8
27	در تابم از دو صندوی آتشِ ہرستان	211B	8
28	چہ خوش است بادہ خوردن بصبوحِ در گلستان	215B	9
29	وقتِ صبح گشت بہستان شتاب کن	217A	9
30	بسی خونِ جگر دارد سر زلفِ تو در گردن	222A	9
31	ہر کہ شد با ساکنانِ عالمِ علوی قرین	226B	9
32	ہر کس کہ برگرفت دل از جان چنانکہ من	230B	15
33	بمن رسید نویدِ وصالِ دلداران	233B	11

و

1	لفحہ گلشنِ عشق از نفسِ ما بشنو	121B	9
2	ای چراغِ دیدہ جانِ روی تو	121B	9
3	اے شبِ قدر عاشقانِ طرہ دلکشائے تو	122A	10
4	ای کہ چوموے شدتِ تم از ہوسِ میانِ تو	122A	8
5	اے پیچ در میانِ دزموئے میانِ تو	122B	9
6	بآفتابِ جہاں تابِ سایہ ہر و بر تو	122B	9
7	ہر وای باد بہاں سوی کہ من دائم و تو	123A	8
8	ترکِ من خاقانِ نگر در حلقہٴ عشاقِ او	123A	9
9	صیدِ شیراں مے کند آہوی روبہ باز او	123B	8
10	اے صبا حالِ جگر گوشہٴ ماچیت بگو	145A	9
11	مرا ز ہجر تو امیدِ زندگانی کو	163A	13
12	آپ آتشِ میر و دزاں لعلِ آتشِ نامِ او	175B	9
13	خوشا گشت ہر طرفِ میدِ آن او	208A	13
14	صحبتِ ساقیا مے چوں آفتاب کو	212B	7

15

کہ ہر ز سرور واد تو خورد راست بگو

231B

9

0

1

ز ہے روئے دل افروزت چراغ چشم ہر دیدہ

123B

9

2

خال شکیں بر رخظ اظہر منہ

124A

9

3

آن عید نیلواں بد آمد ز عید گاہ

141B

11

4

لباز چارہ این در دھند بیچارہ

148B

9

5

اے ملک دلم خراب کردہ

151A

9

6

من کیم زار و نزار افتادہ

157B

13

7

ز ہے رلودہ خیال تو خوابم از دیدہ

176B

11

8

گردماہ از مشک چھڑ کردہ

195A

10

9

برآمد ماہم از میدان سوارہ

197A

9

10

اے خوشہ چیں سبل پر چیت سبلہ

207B

7

11

اے پیر دامن اہل قدم از دست مدہ

216A

11

12

تخت خیری ہیں دگر بر تختہ خارا زدہ

224A

9

13

منہ بی مہر من ز شعر سیاہ

226A

13

14

اے حبش پیریں و چین در زنگبار انداختہ

228B

11

ی

1

چو دستان بر کشد مرغ صراحی

22A

13

2

تبسمت الزہر والمزن باکی

22A

9

3

دلا بر عالم جان زن علم زین دیر جہانی

124A

11

4

دو چشم مست تو با خواب سے کند بازی

124B

9

5

نہ ٹھہر گردن آخر کہ قصد مانگنی

124B

9

6

چہ جرم رفت کہ رفتی و ترک ما کردی

125A

10

7

ایمی از خیال بعل بخت آب گشتہ می

125A

9

8

اے پیکر عاشقان اگر از عالم آگہی

125B

11

9

تو چون قربان نمی کردی کجا ہم کیش ما باشی

126A

7

10

باز ہر چند کہ ہر دست شہاں دارد جانی

126A

11

11

ایا صبا خبرے کن مرا رزاکہ تو دانی

126B

11

12

بروای باد بہاری بد باری کہ تو دانی

126B

12

13

چون سیکر مطبوعت در معنی زیبائی

127A

9

14

کامت ہیں است کہ ہر لحظہ ز چشم رانی

127A

12

15

سحر تاباد عیسی دم کند با روح دمنبازی

127B

11

16

گیم رانی و گہ دشنام خوانی

128A

13

17

اے لالہ زار آتش روی تو آب روی

128A

9

18

اے صبا با ببل خوش گوی گوی

128B

9

19

جان ہر ورم گہی کہ تو جانان من شوی

128B

9

20

مستی ز چشم دلکش میگون یا رجوی

129A

14

ز دل افروزت
در اصل است

Serial No.	Letter and Opening Verse	Space	No. of Couplets.
21	خوشا شراب محبت ز ساغر ازل	129B	9
22	یاد باد آنکہ دلم را عدد جان بودی	129B	9
23	اے شمع چگل دوش در ایوان کہ بودی	137A	11
24	راہ بی پایاں عشقت را نیا بم منزلی	139A	7
25	یا ملولاً عن سلامی انت فی الدنیا مرا می	139B	11
26	میا در قلب عشق ای دل کہ بازی نیت جان بازی	144A	9
27	خرامندہ سروی ہر خ گلستانی	148A	9
28	تو آن ماہ زہو جبینی و سرو لالہ غداری	152A	7
29	اے دلم بستہ زلف سمیت ز ناری	152A	6
30	بجولی چو یار من نباشد یاری	153A	9
31	بادہ کلکوں مرا و طلعت سلمی	157A	11
32	چہ خوش باشد یا دوستداری	162A	8
33	اے رویت از فردوس بابے	162A	18
34	بر خیز کہ بنشیند فریاد ز ہر سوے	163B	6
35	دلکم برد بشارت ز ہرم دہر کے	164A	11
36	گر تو شیریں شکر لب بشکر خندہ در آئیے	167A	9
37	اے کہ بردیدہ صاحب نظر اں میگذری	177A	9
38	مہبت یار خے آن آفتاب مہر افزاے	178A	11
39	چگونہ سرو رواں گویمت کہ عین روانی	179B	10
40	ترک صورت کن اگر عالم معنی طلبی	180A	9
41	حر لغان مست دمدم ہوشند و جادرداں خراب ازے	181A	8
42	گر آفتاب نباشد تو ماہ چہرہ تمامی	185A	10
43	مگر بیدہ مجنون نظر کند و کرنی	189A	11
44	اے مجننہ و مانیدہ بگر و قمر از موئے	191A	8
45	اے ترک پیری چہرہ بدیں سلسلہ موئے	196B	10
46	روئے تو گر بید می جان بتو ہر فشانہ می	199A	7
47	گر بفریب می کشی در بقیاب می کشی	199A	7
48	گفتا تو از کجائی کا شفتہ می غمائی	201A	9
49	پیردہ ابر سیاہ از ماہ تاباں بکشتائی	202A	9
50	از برائے دلم اے قطر پیردہ سرائی	202A	9
51	اے مقیمان درت را عالمی ہر دے	202B	9
52	نشائیہ آن زلف شکں پر شکں ار می شکنی	204B	9
53	در دلم بود کز میں پس ندیم دل یکے	206B	9
54	زلف روئے تو خواہم شبے و مہتابے	208A	9
55	ز تو با تو را ز گویم ہر زبان بے زبانی	211B	9
56	چوں نیت مارا با او وصالے	212A	10

رقمہ دون سرور
دولان خواہی
Ed. 1195

رقمہ دون سرور
دولان خواہی
Ed. 1195

Serial No.	Letter and Opening Verse.	Space	No. of Couplets.
57	یا باری البرایا یا داری الداری	214A	10 ?
58	پسقی الله ایام وصل الغوانی	214A	11
59	اروض الخلد ام معنی الغوانی	214B	10
60	یا هادی الشیاق قد ذنب فی الفراق	215A	10
61	طوبی تک اے سیک صبا خرم رسیدی مرصبا [بامد قل الحشاشی ما بال مرکب قد سری]	215A	9
62	اے نفس مشک ہمیز باد بہاری	227B	11
63	خوشا وقتے کہ از بستاں سراے	229A	11
64	اے کم گوئی کز چہ و سرگشته میگرددی چو گوئی	231B	11
65	زہی اشکم ز شوقِ لعلِ میگوین تو عنابی	233A	9

Word	A	Page	Word	Page
Abāghā		6	Abyssinnians	15
Abbasid Caliph		98	Achamenian	2
Abdul 'Atā Khwājah Kamāl-ud-Dīn Maḥ- mūd bin 'Alī		5	Adīb Šābir	61, 98
Abdul-fāth Tāhir		20	Afrāsīyāb	39, 51, 58, 101.
Abdul Nabī		4	Afzal	5
Abdul Raḥmān Jāmī		42	Afzal-ud-Dīn	8, 152, 166, 204.
Abdullah Anšārī		97	Afzal-ud-Dīn (Khwājū)	4, 5, 8
Abīl Khayr		151	Afzal-ul-Muta'a Khakhrīn	36, 37
Abī Tālib		204	Ahl-i-Suffa	93
Abū Bakr (May Allah be pleased with him)		203	Aḥmad	11, 57, 64
Abū Ishāk	14, 48, 57, 58, 59, 165, 167, 168, 169, 170, 200.		Aḥmad Khān	6
Abu Ishak bin Ibrāhīm	14		Ahristān	49, 195
Abū Ishāq	168		Aitmar	67
Abū Sa'īd	7, 52, 53, 93, 151.		Alyyūb	157
Abu Sa'īd 'Alī	39, 40		Ālafrank	7
Abu Sa'īd Khān	48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 61, 64.		'Alā-ud-Daulah	152
Abu Sa'īd Khān Chingīzī	48, 49, 100		'Alā-ud-Daulah Samnānī	14, 166
Abu Naṣr Khalīl Aḥmad	64		Alexander	57, 116, 117
Abu Sa'īd bin Abi'l Khair	97, 98, 143, 151.		'Alī (May Allah be pleased with him)	39, 57, 61, 64, 65, 66, 107, 121, 203, 204.
Abu Sa'īd Khān Bahādur	167		'Alī 'Imrānī	14
Abū Shakūr (Balkh)	97, 142		'Alī Sahl	168
Abū Tālib	204		Al-Isḥrākīyūn	193, 194
Abū Tālib Kalīm	179		Allāh	12, 15, 16, 25, 35, 61, 64, 65, 66, 76, 77, 92, 95, 98, 102, 107, 116, 119, 121, 124, 126, 131, 140, 144, 147, 151, 153, 154, 156, 158, 163, 166, 170, 186, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205.
Abul 'Atā	4		Allāh Akbar	166, 181
Abul 'Atā Khwājah Kamāl- us-Dīn Maḥmūd bin 'Alī.	5		Almut	98, 166
Abul 'Atā Maḥmūd bin 'Alī	4		Alp Arslān	117, 118, 123.
Abul 'Atā Maḥmūd bin 'Alī bin Maḥmūd	4		Alvand	41
Abul 'Atā Muḥammad bin 'Alī Kirmānī	4, 5		'Amīd-ul-Mulk	70
Abu'l Fath Tāhir b. Fakhr- 'l Mulk	10		'Amīd-ul-Mulk Rukn-ud-Dīn	100, 145
Abul-Ḥasan ('Imrānī)	20		Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī	4
Aburasp	19		Amīn-ud-Dīn	14
			Amīn-ud-Dīn Kāzrūnī	56, 107
			Amīr Beg Jakāz	168.

Word	Page
Amīr Chūpān	7
Amīr Abū Ishāk	49
Amīr Khusrau	26, 47, 67, 68, 69, 99.
Amīr Shaikh Abu Ishāk	48
Amīr Giyāth-ud-Dīn Hājji Khurāsānī	50
Amīr Mubārīz-ud-Dīn Muhammad Muzaffar	123, 124
Amīr Mu'izzī	61
Anvarī	17, 18, 20, 61, 66, 68, 98, 189, 199, 200.
Anwarī'	20
Apollo	30
Apology	33, 46
Arab	19, 90
Arabia	2, 13, 54, 88, 195.
Arabian Sea	2
Arabs	88
Arash	18
Ardishīr	2
Ardishīr-Bābak	1
Arghūn	6, 7
Aries	4
Aristotle	4, 9, 22, 23, 24, 117, 191, 192, 194, 200.
Armenia	109
Aryan	154
Asadi	61, 64, 68.
Asaf	52, 53, 85, 95.
Asāmī-ul-Kutub-ual-funūn	5
Āṣār-i-'Ajam	4, 34, 48, 152, 156, 167.
Ashāb-i-Ṣuffa	153
Asia	67
Asia Minor	67, 98, 99.
Asjadī	61
Assassins	98
Ātash Kadah	4, 29
Atsiz Khvārazm Shāh	61
Atsiz bin Sultān Muhammad Khvārazm Shāh	59.
Bvicenna	194
Ayāz	5, 57

Word	Page
Āzar	40, 57, 168
Āzar-bāyījān	6, 55, 109, 124
Āzar Afroz	100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 127, 130, 132, 133.
Azhdahā Kush	109
Azrā	97, 189

B

Bābā Tāhir (Ūryān)	87, 95, 98, 143, 151, 178, 189.
Bābak	2
Babel	130
Bactria	123
Baghdād	1, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 98, 108, 123, 167.
Baghdād Khātūn	7
Baghdād-Tigris	195
Bahā-ud-Dīn (Mahmūd)	57, 123, 124.
Bahāristān	174
Bahman	2
Bahrām Nāmāh	119
Bakht Afrāz	108, 109, 111
Baidu Khān	6
Balāmī	188
Balkh	20, 142
Barhaman	19
Barik	109
Baluchistan (British & Persian)	2
Bāyazīd	107
Bazm Afroz	108
Behzād	100, 101, 102, 103, 107.
Beni Kurt	7
Bezhan	18, 19, 39, 51, 58, 97, 100, 103, 131, 137, 139.
Bezhan and Manizah	97
Bhagvad-Gita	154, 155
Bhārata	155
Bināt-un-Nāsh	300
Bombay	99, 100
Brahman	162

Words	Page
Brahma Nirvāna	155
Bul Hasan	20
Burns (Persian)	151
Bu Sa'id	39, 49
Bustān	196
C	
Caesar	13, 109, 111, 112, 113.
Caesarea	109
Caliphate	203
Capricorn	4
Cathay	16, 81, 100, 124.
Caucasus	25, 44.
Chahār Makālah	28
Chaucer	72
China	9, 12, 17, 30, 39, 67, 98, 99, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 113, 114, 123, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 137.
Chinese	113.
Chingīz	99
Chingīz Khān	72, 98, 188, 189
Christ	8, 163.
Chūpān	7
Clark	89
Coleridge	46
Crito	31
Cupid	77

D

Damascus	13
Dāmghānī	62
Dānish Afroz	109, 112, 124.

Words	Page
Darī	19
Darius	188
Darveshism	15
Dasht-i-Lut	2
David	70.
Daulat Shāh	4, 14, 35, 38, 166.
Delhi	26, 47, 67.
Dīvān-1-Khwājū	47, 96, 141, 149.
Dr Masrur	4, 8, 9, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 135, 166, 167, 170.
Dr Erdmann	135, 170.
Dr Rieu	48, 52, 135, 170, 181.
Dr Etche	151
Dr Steingass	91

E

Eckart	156
Egypt	7, 123, 185.
Elysian	116
Encyclopaedia Bri- tannica.	152, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 163.
Encyclopaedia of Islam	193, 194.
England	74, 163.
Esoteric Doctrine	153, 154.
Ethics	34, 91, 190

F

Faghfūr	101, 102, 103, 128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 134, 137, 139.
Fakhr-ud-Dīn Ahmad	124.
Fakhr-ud-Dīn Asad	18, 92.
Gurgāni.	151
Fakhr-ud-Dīn Irāki	151
Fakhru'e-Mulk	20
Farīd-ud-Dīn Attār	97, 151, 160, 161, 189.
Farīnush	101, 102, 104.
Farrukh Rōz	108, 109, 111, 112.
Farrukhī	61
Fars	2, 3, 57.

Word	Page	Word	Page
Faryābī	98	Gul and Nauruz	109
Firdausī	19, 20, 39, 61, 97, 98, 100, 102, 103, 113, 126, 131, 136, 137, 138, 139, 147, 150, 188, 189, 202, 203.	Gulistān	196
Fīruz	107, 112.	Guīshan-i-Rāz	151
Flanders	47	Gul-u-Nauruz	4, 5, 6, 18, 55, 56, 107, 163, 168, 169, 170.
France	47	Gurgān	18
Frederick	146		
Front-de-Boeuf	130		
G		Habasha	12, 13, 174, 194.
		Habīb-us-Siyar	54
Gabriel	93	Hāfiz	12, 14, 72, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 89, 95, 99, 169, 177, 180, 185.
Galaxy	304	Hāfiz Ābrū	105, 130
Galen	43	Haft Iklīm	4, 29, 38, 152, 179.
Ganjā	18, 26, 99.	Haīdar	203
Gathas	188	Haīdar Ālī	181, 185
Ganja	18, 26, 99	Hāj Khalīfah	5, 169
Gauhar Nāmāh	57, 123, 124, 165, 168	Hādīkah-tul-Hakīkat	119
Gaykhātū	6, 7.	Hakīkat	162
Gey	39	Hamadan	41, 151, 178.
Ghazālī (Imām)	193, 158	Hamīd-ud-Dīn	20
Ghāzān	6, 7	Hamīd-ul-Mulk Maḥmūd	123, 124
Ghaznā	63, 97	Haqīqat	162
Ghaznavīd	62, 64, 72, 150, 188.	Haram	85
Ghaznī	61	Hasan	57, 204
Ghiās-ud-Dīn	51, 52, 53, 64.	Hasan bin Ālī bin Ishāk	
Ghiyās-ud-Dīn	52, 64	Kavām-ul-Dīn Nizām-ul-Mulk of Tus	123
Ghiyās-ul-Dīn Ibn		Hassan	13
Humām-ul-Dīn	53	Hassan Ibn Thābit	13
Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd	100	Hatim	116
Gilān	7	Hedjaz	195
God	1, 16, 24, 29, 44, 70, 91, 151, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 159, 162, 163, 203, 204.	Herāt	7
Gods		Hesiod	23, 24
Gods' Lion		Hijāz	54, 97, 142
Greece	21, 31, 190.	Hijrat	165, 169
Gūdarz	39	Hikmat-al-Ishrak	193
		Hira	13
Gul	107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114.	H. Kohi Kirmani	95

Word	Page
lāgū	6, 99
lāgū Khān	98, 189
mā	38, 41, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 126, 200.
māyūn	38, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105.
mā-u-Humāyūn	4, 7, 30, 31, 35, 38, 39, 41, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 99, 100, 126, 135, 163.
rmuz	54
asain	203

I

on-i-Yamīn	100, 145
orāhīm Abu Ishāk	
Kāzrūn	27, 119
īr-l-Āzam	17
khān	49
khānī	54, 99, 150, 151
nād-ud-Dīn Fīrūzshāh	20
nāmī	17, 18
nām Ghazālī	123
rān	93
ndia	67, 99, 159, 160, 161
n nāfa-taī-nā	11
rākī	21, 53, 54, 195
rākī	69
rān	19, 39, 54, 126, 127, 130, 133
sfāhān	54, 61, 66, 68, 181, 195.
shāk bin Ibrāhīm	
āzrūnī	107
skandar Nāmāh	100, 116
saac, the Jew	134
vanhoe	130, 132, 134.
zz-ud-Dīn	124

Word	Page
Jahāngīr	102
Jahān Afroz	107, 110
Jalālīcras	4
Jalāl-ud-Dīn	50
Jalāl-ud-Dīn Mansūr	50
Jalāl-ud-Dīn Rūmī	43
Jāmī	42, 102, 147, 174.

Jāmi-ul-Tavārīkh	123
Jamāl	108
Jamāl-ud-Dīn	61
Jamāl-ud-Dīn Daylamī	54
Jamāl-ud-Dīn	
Muhammad	66, 68
Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad	
Abdul Razzāk	99

Jamshīd	19, 85, 124, 127.
Jarandāb	123, 124
Jesus Christ	8, 82, 92.
Jelairids	7
Joseph	185
Jubanians	7

K

Kāān	124
Kāānī	81
Kāba	79, 154, 181, 184
Kābul	181
Kādīsīyā	2
Kaikhātū	6
Kailas	127, 133
Kailsān of Shām	127
Kais bin Kaisān	101
Kaisariya	109
Kalūsh	127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133.
Kalvād	127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134.
Kamāl	108

Word	Page	Word	Page
umāl Nāmah	18, 39, 40, 41, 57, 58, 92, 119, 158, 162, 164, 165, 167, 168, 178.	Khudā-Banda	7
umāl-ud-Dīn	5, 61	Khurāsān	2, 107, 108, 109, 110, 112, 113.
umāl-ud-Dīn		Khusrau	90
Abul Atā Mahmūd.	57, 58, 92, 119, 158, 162, 164, 165, 167, 168, 178.	Khusraw Shirui	107
umāl-ud-Dīn Abul Atā		Khutān	16, 174.
In Ali Mahmūd bin		Khvājā	34.
Ali Al-Murshidi, Kirmānī	5	Khvājā Ahmad	63.
umāl-ud-Dīn Abul Atā Muhammad bin Ali, Kirmānī		Khvājā Amir	55
umāl-ud-Dīn Ismā'il	61, 99	Khvārazm Shah	189.
umāl-ud-Dīn Khwājū	4, 5, 38	Khvāja Ahmad Abu'l	
umāl-ud-Dīn Mahmūd	5, 6, 34	Hasan Ibrānī	63
umāl-ud-Dīn Mahmūd		Khvāja-f-Jahān	
In Ali bin Mahmūd	4, 5, 6, 34	Majd-ud-Dīn Abu'l Hasan	20
amar Tāsh	129, 130, 131, 133, 134.	Imrānī	
āmus-ul-Ālām	169	Khvājū	Birth: 1, 2, 4, 5, 6; Education: 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28; Khwājū's dreams: 29, 30, 31; Born poet: 32, 33; Pen-name: 34; Surname: 35, 36, 37; Khwājū as a husband: 38; as a father: 39, 40, 41, 42; His mission in life: 43, 44, 45, 46; Early attempts: 47; His panegyrics and patrons: 47, 48, 49; Stay at Yazd: 49, 50; Residence at Baghdād: 51, 52, 53, 54; Return to Kirmān: 54, 55, 56, 57, 58; Residence at Shirāz: 58; As a panegyrist: 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 67, 68; His style as a panegyrist: 68, 69; Peculiarities as a panegyrist: 69; 71; Khwājū as a lyric poet: 72, 73, 76; As a lover: 77, 78; Pessimism of Khwājū: 79, 80, 81, 82, 83; His outlook on life: 83, 84, 85, 87; His theme of love: 88, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95; Style as a lyricist: 95; Khwājū as a Romantic poet: 97, 99; Humā-u-Humāyūn: 100, 102, 103, 104, 105; Gul-u-Nauruz: 107, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114; Rauzatul-Anvār: 115, 116, 117; Kamā Nāmah: 119, 120, 121; Gauhar Nāmah: 123, 124, 125; Sām Nāmah: 126, 130, 131, 132, 135, 136, 137, 139, 140; Miscellaneous poems: Tarkib-band, musammāt: 141; Mustazad and Rubā'iyāt: 142, 144; Mukattaat: 144, 146; Satire: 147, 148; Style of his short poems: 148; Khwājū's mysticism: 150, 152, 153; Theories of mysticism: 153, 154, 155, 156; Stations of mysticism: 157; Principles of mysticism: 158, 159, 160; Allegorical illustration and metaphorical language of Khwājū: 160, 161; Khwājū as a mystic poet: 161, 162, 163, 164; Khwājū's last days: 165, 166, 167,
ashf-al-Lughāt	16		
ashf-al-Mahjūb	15, 16, 153, 162.		
ashf-ul-Zanūn	169		
ashf-ul-Zanūn fi			
Sāmī-ul-Kutub-val-			
unūn	5		
āshgar	17		
ashmīr	107, 110		
asr-i-Shāhpūr	109		
āus	19		
ausar	157		
āvah	39		
āzrūn	14, 57, 119, 152, 195.		
erman	3		
hākān	113, 137		
hākānī	17, 18, 61, 66, 81, 98, 189.		
Chamsa-i-Khwājū	36		
Chāvar	20, 95, 100, 102, 123, 127, 130, 132, 133.		
Chāvarasthī	127		
Khizanah-i-Āmirah	152, 166, 167.		
Khizar	14, 22, 83, 180, 197.		

Word	Page
Khawājū (continued)	168, 169, 170, 172; Khawājū as a poet: 173, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 188, 189; Khawājū as a philosopher: 190, 191, 192, 193, 194; Khawājū as a travel- ler: 194, 195, 196; Khawājū as a man: 196, 198, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205.
Khawājū Kirmānī	135, 174
Khwarazm Shah	189
Kirmān	1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 26, 29, 38, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 99, 108, 152, 157, 165, 166, 167, 168, 174, 181, 195, 196.

Kivām-ul-Mulk Mas'ūd	124
Kizil Arslān	124
Kūbād	110
Kubla Khān	98
Kulū Fakhr-ud-Dīn	168
Kunyat-i-Khawājū	35
Kurān (Holy)	11, 12, 76, 99, 139, 144, 147, 204.
Kurānic	11, 204
Kutb-ul-Mashāikh	56
Kutb-ul-Mashāikh Ibn Ishāk bin Ibrāhīm Shahryār Kāzrūnī	55

L

Lahore	36, 47, 99, 100.
Lailā	77, 174, 190.
Lama'at	151
Lao-taz	91
Lau-Lāk	12, 13
Lisān-ul-Ghaib	85
London	135
Lubb-ut-Tavārīkh	48
Lutf 'Alī Beg Āzur	4
Lukmān	21

Word	Page
Madīnat-al-ḥil	17
Māhān	1, 55
Mahmūd	5, 6, 14, 57, 61, 97, 98, 102, 119, 147.
Mahmūd bin 'Alī	4
Mahmūd-Kutbī	53
Mahmūd of Ghaznā	97
Mahmūd of Ghaznī	61
Mahmūd of Shabistar	151
Mahmūd Sāin	52
Mahomet	13
Mai-Khānah	4, 5, 8, 29, 34, 35, 38, 152, 166, 167, 168, 204.
Majālis-ul-Mūminin	4, 29, 34, 38, 152, 166, 167, 168
Majd'ud-Dīn bul Ḥasan 'Imrānī	20
Majma'-ul-Fusaha	4, 29, 48, 52, 166, 167, 169.
Majnūn	77, 174, 190.
Makhzan-i-Asrār	18, 115
Makhzan-i-Akhbar	204
Makran	2
Makūkāl	127, 130, 133, 135.
Malik-al-Nāsir	7
Malik Shah	123
Malik Shavaran	132
Mansūr	77, 83, 202.
Mantik-ut-Tāir	151, 160
Marāgha	6
Marghīn	129
Marmion	131
Mary	8
Masnavī	43, 91, 111, 135, 139, 141, 144, 147.
Masnavī-i-Mānavī	151
Maulānā	89, 90
Maulānā Jalāl-ud- Dīn	97
Maulānā Jalāl-ud- Dīn Rūmī	43, 151
Maulānā Rukh-ud- Dīn	100, 145
Maulānā Sāhib	88, 90, 91.
Maulānā Shiblī (Sāhib)	88, 91, 152, 164.

Word	Page	Word	Page
aybud	50	Munīzah	39, 97, 100, 103, 131, 139
acca	108	Mushrikīya	193
edes	188	Muzaffarī	48, 50, 72.
edina	13	Muzaffarīd	48, 61
		Muzaffarīds	7, 48, 49.
emoirs of the Poets	167, 168	Muzaffarid-ud-Dīn	50
esopotamia	67, 98, 99		
etaphysica or			
etaphysics	22, 23, 24, 191, 192.		
idas	42		
ihr	108		
ihrān	108, 109, 112.	Nafīsī	5
ihrbān	108	Nahangāl	129, 131, 132, 133, 134.
ihrast	107, 112.	Nakhband-1-Shuārā	35, 36, 37.
ihyškāh	100, 101, 102, 104.	Nakhchuvān	109
inūchihr	124, 126, 130.	Narīman	130
inūchihrī	61, 63, 68.		
inūchihrī Dāmghānī	62.	Nasīm-1-Šabā	8
īnūshang	100, 102, 126.	Nasīr	108, 112
irat-ul-Khiyāl	152	Nāsir-ud-Dīn	67
ongol	61, 66, 67, 72, 98, 99, 151, 163.	Nāsir-Khusrau	196
oses	20, 43, 93, 95.	Nāsir-Khusrau Ālavī	97, 196.
Mozaffarīds	7		
ūazzi	98	Naśr (II)	61, 108, 112
ubārīz	57	Naśr-bīn Ahmad	21
ubārīz-ud-Dīn	48, 50, 51, 57, 59, 68, 165, 168	Nauruz	107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113.
ubārīz-ud-Dīn		Naushīrvān	113, 137
uhammad	48, 50	Neo-Platonist	155
ubārīz-ud-Dīn		Nichomachean Ethics	191, 200
uzaffar	165	Nicolas	6
ufarrih-ul-Kuljīb	27	Nidhāmu'l-Mulk	20
Muhammad (the choic- est blessings of Allah be upon him)	13, 52, 57, 67, 107, 202.	Nikudar	6
Muhammad Prince	26, 67	Nīm Rōz	30
Muhammad Naśir Fursat	4	Nishāpūr	151
Muhammad Muzaffar	168.	Nizāmī	18, 26, 34, 36, 90, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 106, 107, 115, 116, 119, 123, 146, 182, 189.
Muīnud-Dīn	53	Nizamia College	123
Mujīr	39, 120	Nizāmī Ārūzī	28
Mujīr-ud-Dīn Abū Sāid Ālī	39, 40.	Nizām-ud-Dīn Kai Kubād	54
Multān	26, 67.	Nizām-ul-Mulk	123

Word	Page	Word	Page
Vizām-ul-Mulk of Tūs	57, 123.		107, 116, 119, 124, 126, 139, 140, 141, 153, 154, 202, 203, 204, 205.
Noah	157		
Nūn-vaḥ Kalamī	11		
Nūrullāh Shūshtarī	4		
Nuzhat-al-qulūb	17		
O			
Oliver Goldsmith	47		
P			
Pahlavī	19, 98		
Pahlawī	97, 98		
Palestine	185		
Paradise	20, 54, 89, 105, 185, 195, 205.		
Parīdukht	127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139.		
Parīnush	127, 128, 130, 131, 134.		
Parīzād	101, 102, 104, 105, 107, 129, 134.		
Parmenides	23		
Pārtha	154		
Parthian	2		
Persia	2, 6, 7, 12, 17, 19, 20, 26, 36, 54, 59, 67, 72, 88, 89, 90, 91, 94, 97, 99, 113, 114, 123, 124, 150, 151, 159, 160, 189, 195		
Persian Baluchistan	2		
Persians	88, 97, 114, 167.		
Phaedo	25, 155, 156, 192, 193.		
Pharaoh	93, 123		
Phoenix	25, 30, 44, 92, 160		
Pythia	31		
Pīl-band	26		
Pīr-i-Anšār	151		
Plato	21, 22, 25, 31, 32, 33, 43, 46, 155, 164, 192, 193, 194. 168		
Prince Sahl			
Prof-Browne	20, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 64, 135, 142, 144, 153, 170, 181.		
Prophet (Holy, the holiest blessings of Allah be upon him)	12, 13, 61, 64, 65, 66, 102		
Q			
Qainat	2		
Qatāniyah	17		
Quraishites	13		
R			
Rafsinjān	168		
Rai	19		
Rāmīn	18		
Rashīd-ud-Dīn			
Vatvāt	59, 61, 97, 98, 189.		
Rauza-tul-Anvār	5, 8, 29, 30, 31, 32, 56, 92, 115, 157, 159, 170, 171,		
Rāvi	67		
Rishis	155		
Rizā Kulī Khān	4		
Romans	114		
Rome	108, 109, 111, 113, 133.		
Rowena	132		
Rubā'iyāt-i-Khwājū	142		
Rückert	141		
Rūdāba	97		
Rūdagī	21, 47, 58, 61, 62, 72, 89, 90, 91, 97, 98, 142, 150, 188, 189,		
Rud Āvar	41		
Rukn-ud-Dīn	71, 100		
Rukn-ud-Dīn			
'Amīd-ul-Mulk	70, 100, 145.		
Rum	17, 127, 133		
Rushanā'i-Nāmah	97		
Rustum	103		

Word	Page	Word	Page
a'ādat Nāmāh	97	Seljuk	61, 189
a'dān	101, 127, 128, 133, 134	Seljukian	57, 66, 72, 123, 151.
ādī Shaikh	9, 10, 38, 67, 68, 81, 87, 89, 92, 93, 95, 98, 177, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 196.	Seljukians	98
adr-i-Jahān	6,	Semitic	154.
adr-Abul Fateh		Serbedarians	7
ajd-ud-Dīn Mahmūd	100	Shāfi'ī	123
afar Nāmāh	196	Shabistar	151
afar Nāmāh-i-Chīn	105, 130	Shāh Aurang	108, 110
āid Nafīsī	5, 29, 30, 31, 32, 34, 40, 56, 100, 107, 115, 119, 123, 135, 169, 181, 196.	Shāh-i-Mardān	204
āidī	61, 99	Shāh Nāmāh	18, 19, 20, 31, 39, 97, 100, 102, 103, 107, 126, 136, 137, 147, 202.
āif Ibn Dhī Yazan	13	Shāh Nāz	109, 111
aklāb (Saqlab)	17	Shāh Shujā	168
ām	108, 110	Shaikh Abu Ishāk (Amīr)	57, 59
ālmā	108, 110, 202	Shaikh Abū Ishāk bin Ibrāhīm of Kāzrūn	14, 152
ālmān	68, 99, 152, 164, 185, 202.	Shaikh Abū Ishāk of Fars	57
ām	18, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 139.	Shaikh Abū Ishāk of Kazrun	57, 119
ām Nāmāh	126, 133, 134, 135, 136, 140, 189.	Shaikh Amin-ud-Dīn of Kāzrūn	152
aman Rukh	101, 102, 103.	Shaikh Hasan	7
aman-Zār	101	Shaikh Mahmūd Attār	14
amandev-i-Zangī	100, 127	Shaikh Sahib	99.
amānīd	21, 61, 62, 72, 150, 188.	Shaikh-ul-Islām	
amarkand	4, 14, 28, 35, 99.	Amīn-ud-Dīn Kāzrūnī	55, 56
amnān	14, 152	Shakespeare	148
anāī	17, 18, 64, 65, 68, 97, 119, 151.	Shām	30, 127
anjar	59, 147	Shamsa	41, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 127, 130, 132, 133.
Santa Teresa	156	Shams-ud-Dīn	52, 53, 55, 56, 58, 165.
Sarbadarids	7	Shams-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Sāin	56, 100
Sāsān	2	Shams-ud-Dīn Sāin	62, 69, 115, 165.
Sāsānian	2	Sharaf	108
Satan	14	Sharaf-ud-Dīn Muẓaffar	50
Saturn	4, 19, 53, 94.	Sharaf-ud-Dīn Shafarva	61
Sāva	68, 99	Shaykh Abū Ishāq	17, 48
Sayyid Abū 'Tālib	20	Shaykh-al-Anṣarī	151
Sayyid Ghiyāthud-Dīn Alī	165	Shāvarān	127
Sclavonia	17	Shī'a	202, 203, 204
		Shibl	109, 111

Word	Page
Jāytú	50
ar (May Allah be eased with him)	203
ar Khayyām	, 142, 143, 151.
ayya	13
mayad Caliphate	98
aurī	17, 61, 62, 63, 68, 97, 98.
mān (May Allah be eased with him)	203
bī's (Tārīkh-i- Yamīnī)	189.
ais	68

V

afādār	108
imik and 'Arā	97, 189
al-lail	11
azir	129, 130, 134.
rō	204
(s-rāmīn)	18, 133
s-u-Rāmīn	98
ltaire	146

VI

lliam Wordsworth	74
------------------	----

Y

ikūt	108, 110
azd	2, 4, 49, 51, 53, 61, 165, 195.
azdigird	1, 2, 4.
men	13
suf and Zulaikhā	97

Word	Page
Zābulistān	128, 130, 134
Zād-ul-Musāfirīn	98
Zahhāk	19
Zain-ud-Dīn Ālī	
Az Zīrbādī	55, 56
Zakī-ud-Dīn Mahmūd	124
Zāl	30, 56, 58, 97, 165, 168, 169.
Zāl and Rūdāba	97
Zamzam	157
Zand	101
Zand Jādū,	101, 127, 128, 130, 134.
Zayn-ud-Dīn Ālī	60
Zulaikhā	97
Zul-Ya-Zan	13.

P. 235 missing containing
Index of the word "T"

K/2/21/73